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# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
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A YEAR

JULY, 1919  
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*by Germany*

*Europe's*  
**LITTLE WARS**

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**Across the Atlantic**  
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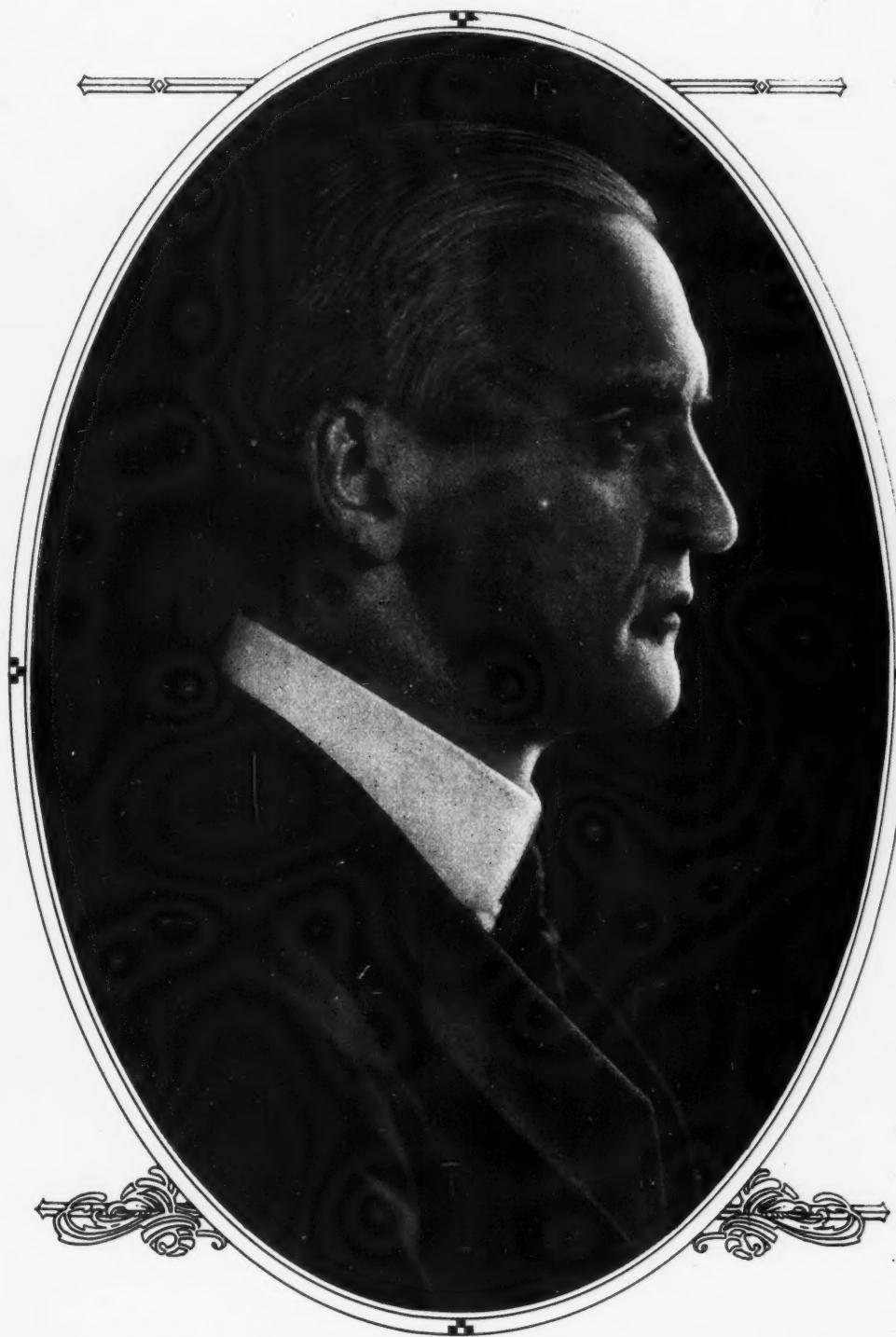
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absence of Secretary Lansing

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DR. KARL RENNER



Austrian Chancellor and Head of Peace Delegation  
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GENERAL JUSTAS MANNERHEIM



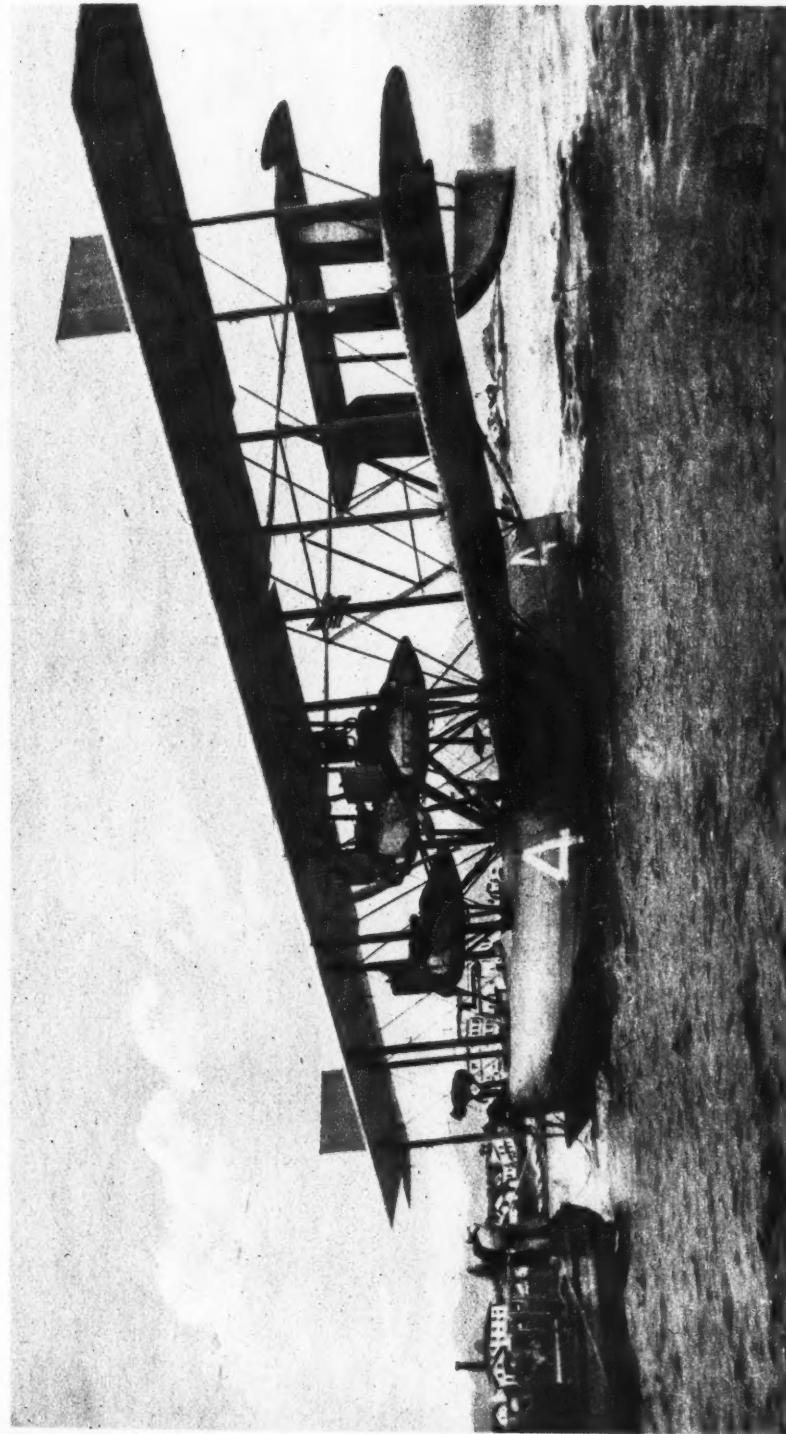
Regent of Finland and Leader of Finnish Armies

LIEUT. COM. ALBERT C. READ



Commander of the NC-4, the first airplane to fly across the Atlantic  
Ocean, May 27, 1919  
(c) Wide World Photos

U. S. NAVY SEAPLANE NC-4 ARRIVING AT PONTA DELGADA



Close-up view of the NC-4 on reaching Ponta Delgada, Azores, May 20, 1919, after flying from Horta, Azores, 150 miles in an hour and 44 minutes  
(© International Film Service)

## AVIATORS IN OVERSEAS FLIGHT



Lieut. Com. P. H. Bellinger of the  
NC-1  
(© Harris & Ewing)



Commander J. H. Towers of NC-3  
and leader of expedition  
(© Wide World Photos)



Lieutenant Walter Hinton, NC-4,  
pilot  
(© Keystone Photo News)



Lieutenant D. H. McCullough,  
NC-3, pilot  
(© Press Illustrating Service)

## DIPLOMATISTS OF NEW STATES



Armas Saastameinen, Finnish  
Minister to United States



Bela Kun, Head of Communist  
Government in Hungary

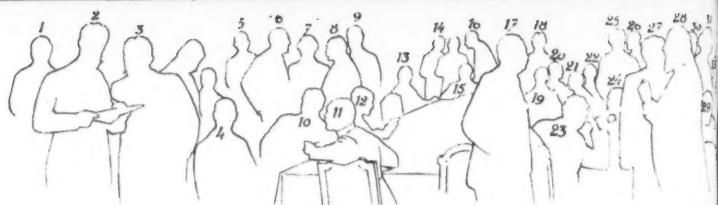
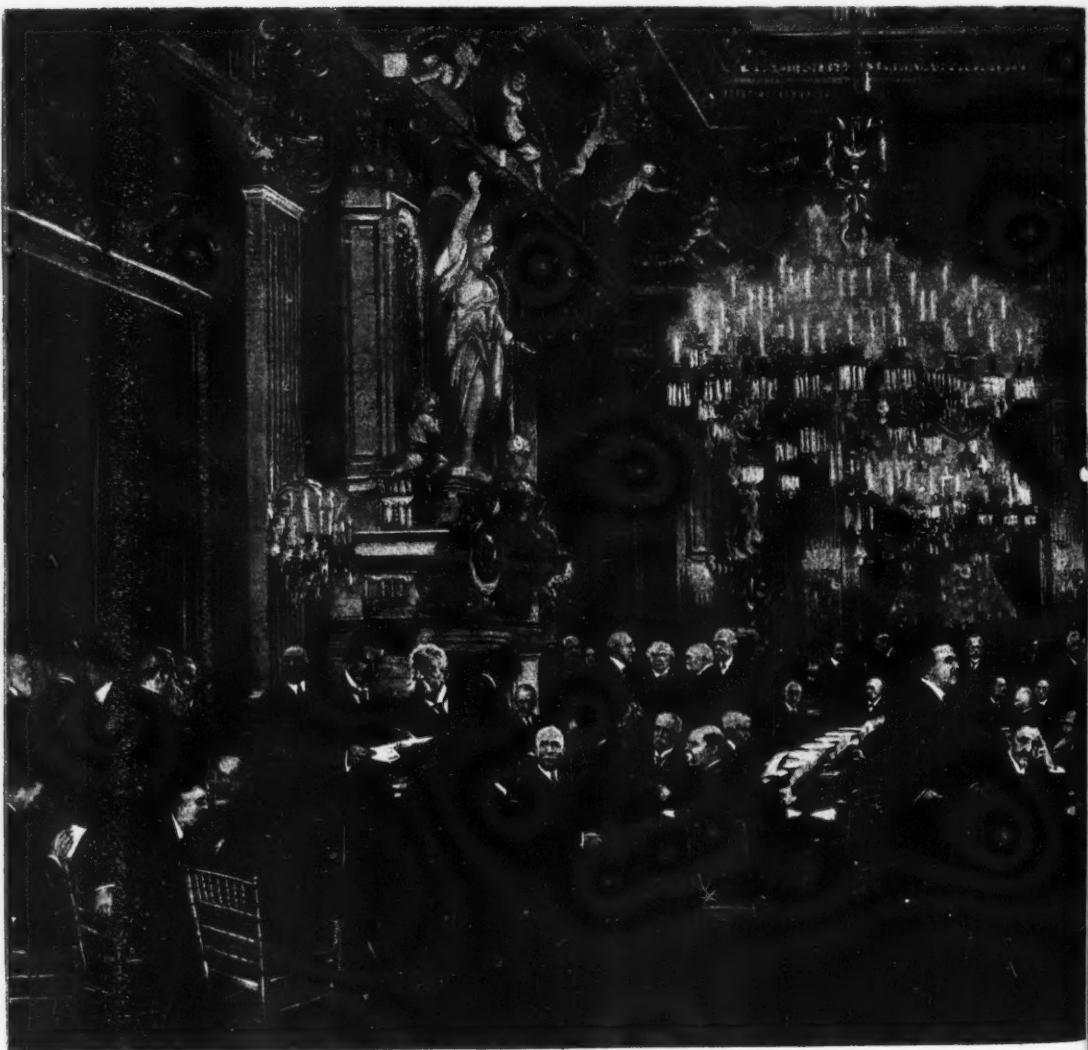


Richard Crane, United States  
Minister to Czechoslovakia



Hugh Gibson, first United States  
Minister to Poland  
(© Harris & Ewing)

## DELEGATES ASSEMBLED IN HALL OF THE CLOCK



The following names and numbers apply to the lower sketch. Each figure there outlined is fully shown in a corresponding pose in the drawing above: 1, M. Dutasta, Secretary; 2, M. Berthelot; 3, M. Pichon, France; 4, E. M. House, United States; 5, Lieut. Col. Hanky; 6, President Wilson, United States; 7, Lloyd George, Great Britain; 8, M. Clemenceau, France; 9, A. J. Balfour, Great Britain; 10, H. White, United States; 11, General Tasker Bliss, United States; 12, Robert Lansing, United States; 13, Lord Milner, Great Britain; 14, Bonar Law, Great Britain; 15, G. N. Barnes, Great Britain; 16, Lord Robert Cecil, Great Britain; 17, M. Tardieu, France; 18, R. L. Borden, Canada; 19, Prince Charoon, Siam; 20, J. Ward, New Zealand; 21, Phya Bibadth Kosha, Siam; 22, W. M. Hughes, Australia; 23, L. L. Klotz, France; 24, M. Benes, Czechoslovakia; 25, M. Bratianu, Rumania; 26, General Botha, South Africa; 27, M. Cambon, France; 28, Leon Bourgeois, France; 29, M. Vesnitch, Serbia; 30, Roman Dmowski, Poland; 31, M. Paderewski, Poland; 32, Jan Smuts, South Africa; 33, W. F. Massey.

LOCK QUAI D'ORSAY, WHERE TREATY WAS FRAMED



New Zealand; 34, M. Burgos, Panama; 35, Maharajah of Bikaner, India; 36, Lord Sinha, India; 37, L'Emir Feisal, Arabia; 38, M. Trumbitch, Serbia; 39, N. Pashitch, Serbia; 40, Prince Haidar, Arabia; 41, M. Orlando, Italy; 42, Dr. Moniz, Portugal; 43, Dr. Villela, Portugal; 44, M. Matsui, Japan; 45, Baron Makino, Japan; 46, M. Sonnino, Italy; 47, Marquis Saionji, Japan; 48, M. de Alsua, Ecuador; 49, M. King, Liberia; 50, M. Calderon, Peru; 51, M. Mantoux, interpreter; 52, Marquis Raggi, Italy; 53, M. Guibaud, Haiti; 54, M. Barzillai, Italy; 55, Marshal Foch, France; 56, M. Politis, Greece; 57, M. Blanco, Uruguay; 58, M. Venizelos, Greece; 59, Lou Tseng Tsiang, China; 60, Sao Ke Alfred Sze, China; 61, M. Bustamante, Cuba; 62, M. Montes, Bolivia; 63, M. Mendes, Guatemala; 64, M. Magalhaes, Brazil; 65, M. Vandervelde, Belgium; 66, General Weygand, aid to Marshal Foch, France; 67, M. Hymans, Belgium; 68, E. Pessoa, Brazil; 69, M. Vandeneheuvel, Belgium.

(From drawing by J. Simont in *L'Illustration*)

HISTORIC SCENE AT VERSAILLES, MAY 7, 1919, WHEN THE PEACE TREATY WAS HANDED TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES



The setting of this momentous event was the dining room of the Trianon Palace Hotel, a large building completed just before the war began. Premier Clemenceau and the other allied representatives were seated at a table at one end of the room, and the German delegates were directly opposite. M. Clemenceau—at whose right can be seen President Wilson, and on his left Lloyd George and Balfour—made a brief address, and Count Brockdorff-Rantzau read a reply without rising from his seat.

(© Western Newspaper Union)

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF AMERICAN EMBARKATION CAMP AT BREST, FRANCE



Brest was the chief port through which the American troops entered and left France. Camp Pontanezen, established there, has served for the embarkation of hundreds of thousands on their homeward journey. The camp normally contains from 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers, and on occasion has held many more.

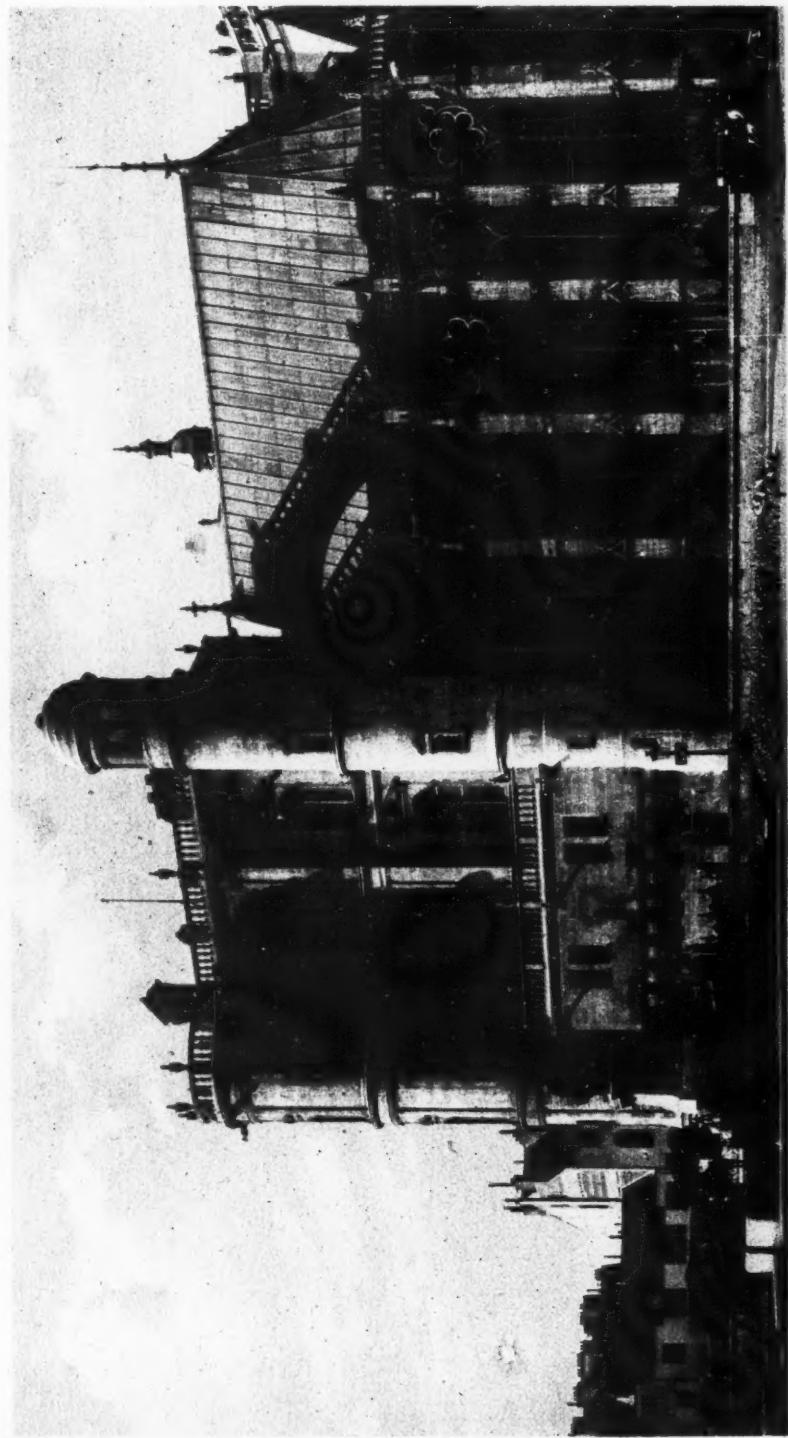
COMPANY STREET IN CAMP PONTANEZEN, BREST, WITH SOLDIERS LAYING DUCKBOARDS



Charges of unsanitary conditions in the embarkation camp at Brest were refuted by the officers in control, and the refutation is sustained in this picture. Major Gen. Helmick, in command, stated that the mud caused by the Spring rains was overcome by laying and rolling thousands of crushed stone walks, besides many miles of boardwalks

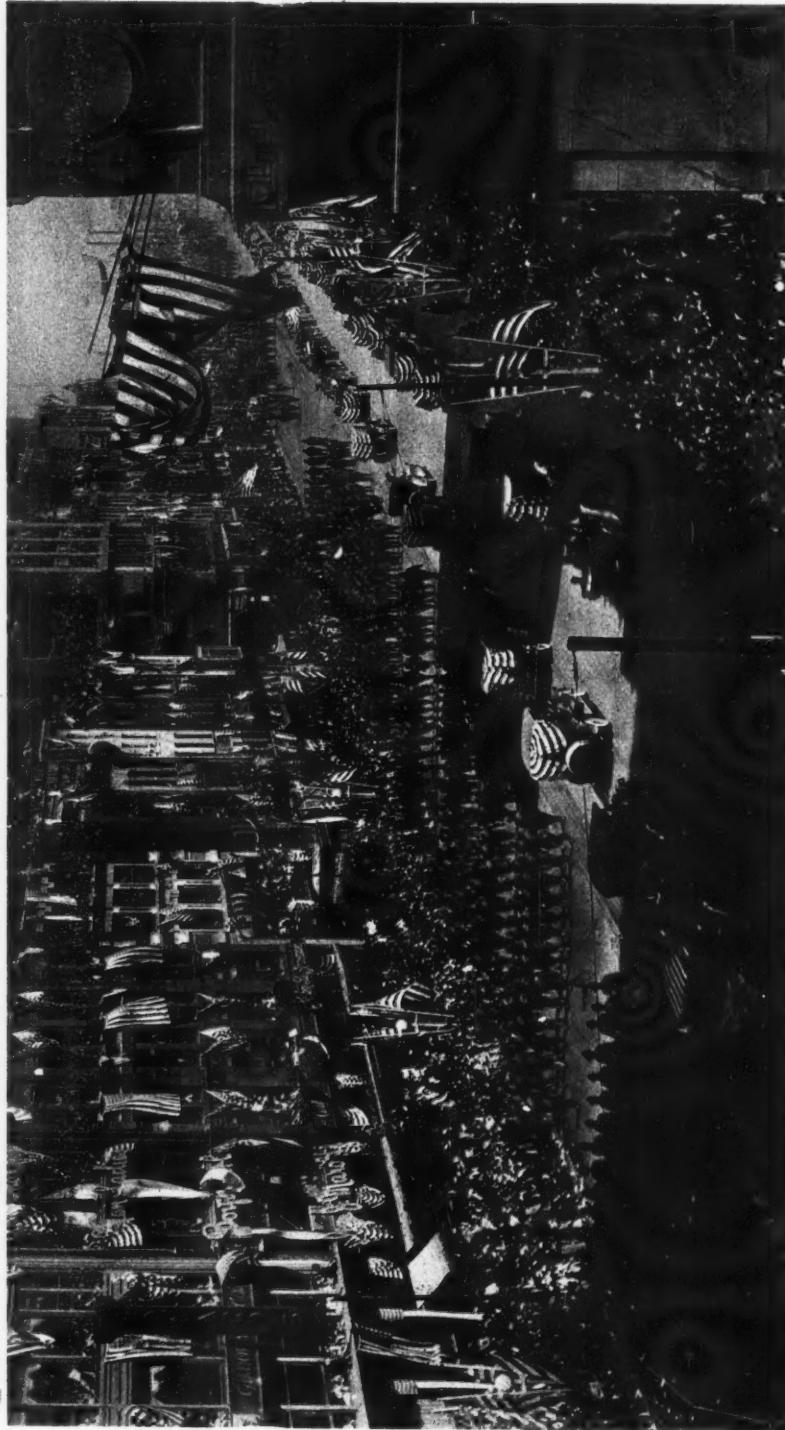
(© International Film Service)

CHATEAU FRANCOIS PREMIER AT ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE, FRANCE



St. Germain was the suburban residence of the early French Kings, and this chateau, named after Francis I., was the place chosen for presentation of the peace terms to the Austrian delegates on June 2, 1919  
*(© Underwood & Underwood)*

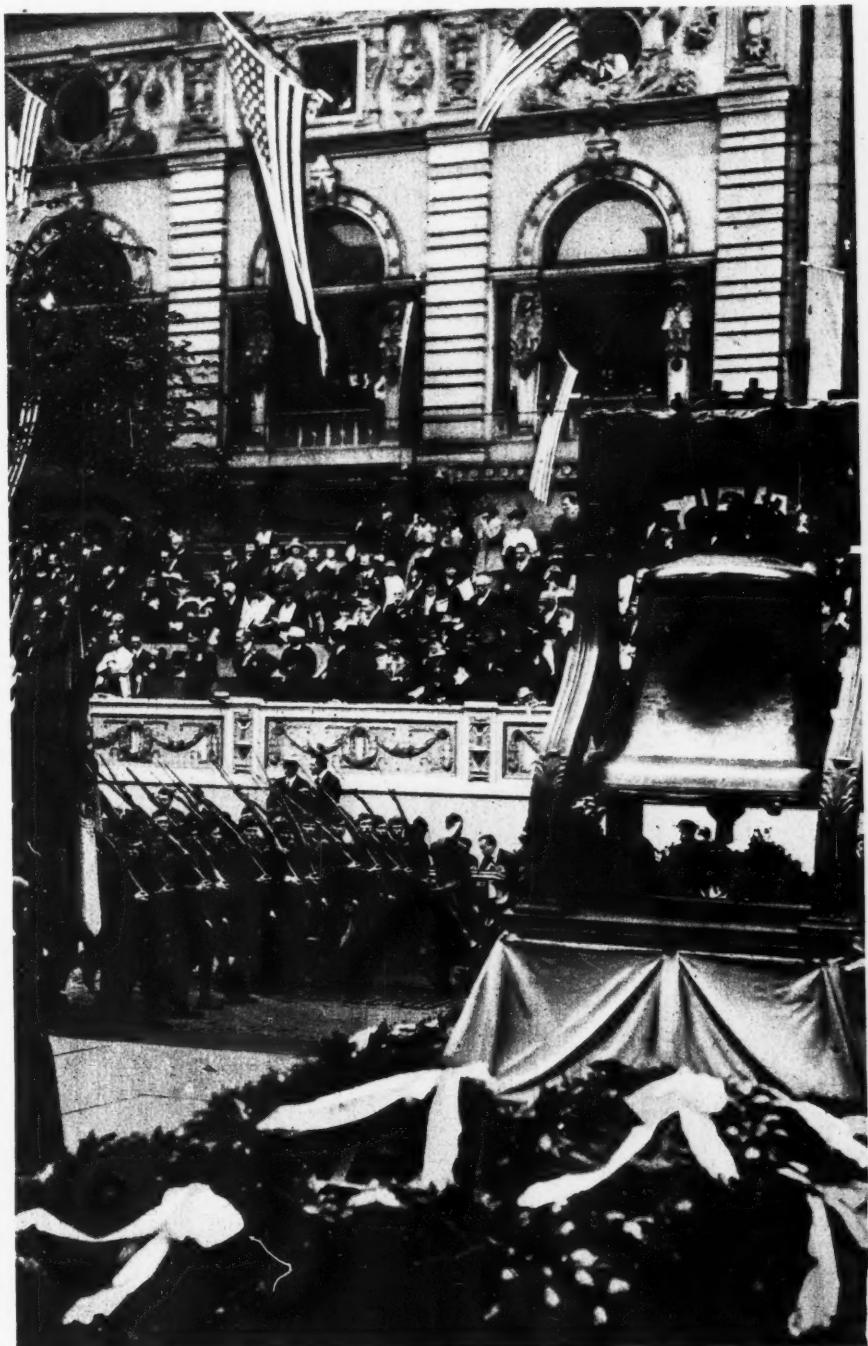
PARADE OF HOMECOMING INDIANA TROOPS AT INDIANAPOLIS



The greatest military demonstration in the history of Indiana took place when the 150th Field Artillery and members of Base Hospital 32 marched through the streets of Indianapolis, May 7, 1919. Colonel Robert H. Tyndall headed the parade

(© Central News Photo Service)

## PHILADELPHIA HONORS ITS "IRON" DIVISION



Men of the 28th Division marching before Independence Hall, and passing the Liberty Bell, which had been brought forth from its shrine and placed on view for the occasion.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

## CITY OF RHEIMS AT THE END OF THE WAR



Rheims was for four years under the German guns and every reverse of the German arms was signalized by a savage outburst of shellfire. Scarcely a building escaped



Progress shown in gathering up the débris in Rheims, preparatory to the first labors of reconstruction and the building of workmen's quarters in the suburbs

# CURRENT HISTORY

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# GERMANY AND THE TREATY TERMS

## Brockdorff's Long Effort to Modify the Treaty by Means of Notes and Counterproposals

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1919]

COUNT BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU, head of the German Peace Mission, who had left Versailles for Spa on May 17, returned on the 19th. He was accompanied by Herr Landsberg and Herr Giesberts, who had been to Berlin for consultation with the Government. With the plenipotentiaries were General von Secht and about forty other military and naval experts. Throughout the next four weeks the world's attention was centred upon the desperate efforts of Brockdorff and his fellow-delegates to induce the Council of Four to modify the stringent peace terms that had been handed to them on May 7. As oral discussion had been barred, the Germans continued submitting notes of protest and counterargument until May 29, when they finally produced an elaborate set of counterproposals, a document of some 60,000 words. To this the Council of Five on June 16 made an almost equally extended reply, chapter for chapter; it was in effect an ultimatum calling for Germany's final acceptance or refusal on or before Monday, June 23. It offered a number of concessions, but none of vital import.

During the seven-day interval that followed, while the German Government and National Assembly were in agitated discussion as to whether to sign or refuse to sign, the armies of occupation made all necessary preparations to invade the interior of Germany in case of refusal, and the civilized world waited for the outcome calmly but with intense interest. The German National Assembly, which was in continuous session at Weimar, received the allied ultimatum on June 18. The Cabinet discussed the terms continuously, but up to the 20th (at the hour of going to press) the decision was not known. Meanwhile Ger-

many was stirred as never before over the question of accepting or rejecting the terms, and no one could safely predict the outcome.

On the day of his return to Versailles Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau called the Presidents of the different commissions together to lay before them the instructions he had received at Spa. He also issued instructions for the drafting of a bulletin to be submitted to Berlin for approval. A special edition of the daily press report for Berlin was being published for the Germans at Versailles; all the articles for this official report were being written by the German correspondents under the direction of Brockdorff himself.

On May 20 the German delegation sent a note to the Secretariat of the Peace Conference, the tenth communication of the kind, requesting an extension of time, on the ground that the discussion of all the aspects of the treaty could not be completed by May 21, the date officially set for the German reply. The note was as follows:

Versailles, May 20.  
To His Excellency the President of the  
Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau:  
Sir: The German Peace Delegation in-  
tends during the next few days to submit  
communications to the allied and asso-  
ciated Governments on the following  
points, which, in the eyes of the delega-  
tion, fall under the definition of sugges-  
tions of a practical nature:

First—A note concerning territorial  
questions in the East; second, a note con-  
cerning Alsace-Lorraine; third, a note  
concerning the occupied territories;  
fourth, a note concerning the extent and  
discharge of the obligation undertaken  
by Germany in view of reparation; fifth,  
a note concerning the further practical  
treatment of the question of labor laws;  
sixth, a note concerning the treatment of  
German private property in enemy coun-  
tries.

Besides this, a syllabus is being pre-

pared of the observations which are called for from the German Government by the draft of the treaty of peace in its detailed provisions. The problems hereby involved being in part of a very complicated nature, and it having been necessary to discuss them extensively with the experts in Versailles, as well as with those in Berlin, it will not be possible to dispose of them within the time limit of fifteen days notified by your Excellency on the 7th instant, although the delega-

tion will take pains to transmit as many notes as possible within the limit.

Having regard to this, I beg, in the name of the German peace delegation, to move that the contents of the intended notes be regarded as having already been made the subject of discussion in writing, and that the requisite time be granted to us for a more detailed exposition.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest esteem,

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

## Allies Extend Time

To this note M. Clemenceau replied as follows:

May 20, 1919.

Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 20, stating that the subjects on which the German delegation wishes to offer suggestions are so complicated that the memoranda of the German delegation cannot be completed within the fifteen days granted on the 7th instant and asking, in consequence, for an extension of the time limit.

In reply, I beg to inform your Excellency that the allied and associated Governments are willing to grant an extension until Thursday, May 29.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau had asked permission for a special train to bring to Versailles printing presses and a force of workmen to hasten the preparation of the German reply. On May 20 a request that a German delegation of four be granted passports to proceed to Holland to arrange for food supplies for Germany was granted. At this date Herr Schwartz, the Saxon Minister of Agriculture, severed his connection with the German peace delegation, and on his return to Dresden issued a statement censuring the Peace Conference severely.

It developed about this time that the German delegation had summoned from Berlin for a consultation Karl Kautsky, the Independent Socialist leader. Herr Pauli of the German Foreign Office, head of the German General Electric Company, and other experts had also been called.

### CONSULTATION AT SPA

On May 22 von Brockdorff and several of his colleagues left again for Spa, where they were met by Chancellor Scheidemann, Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, Count von Bernstorff, and Mathias Erzberger, who

had just come from a meeting of the German Cabinet at Berlin. They had come to decide on the final wording of the counterproposals. Chancellor Scheidemann, backed in Berlin by Bernstorff and Erzberger, who had most to do with drawing up the reply and the numerous notes, but whose work Brockdorff-Rantzau thought fit to edit and amplify, and backed mainly by Landsberg in Versailles, acted vigorously in bringing about the Spa conference. These moderates, being in the majority, took a firm grasp on the situation, which was threatening to become chaotic. The whole cumbersome reply was taken to pieces and the lines of a much more moderate and concise reply were finally laid down. The conference at Spa sat almost continually for six hours, and at last reached unity. Brockdorff returned to Versailles on the 24th. Professor Weber and Herr Dietrich, members of the delegation, left for Berlin the following day. They had given their approval to the reply that was to be made to the Allies on the provisions of the treaty dealing with the demand for the punishment of the former Kaiser and financial arrangements.

The German counterproposals were completed on May 27, and the printing plant sent to Spa on a train from Germany worked all night in printing them. A typewritten copy was carried to Berlin for delivery to the German Government by the private secretary of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau.

### DELIVERING COUNTERPROPOSALS

The counterproposals formulated by the German delegation were delivered through the French authorities to the

Secretariat of the Peace Conference on May 29. [A full summary of these counterproposals will be found on Pages 18-28.] The bulky document was in German, and there were only three copies of it in the hands of the Allies. Twenty interpreters were set to work at once to translate it into English and French. When completed it filled 146 typewritten pages and bore the title "Observations of the German Delegation on the Conditions of Peace." It was published in Berlin on May 28.

One of the first results of the German proposals was to cause Premier Lloyd George to call the whole British Cabinet to Paris on June 1 for the purpose of considering the advisability of modifying the peace terms to Germany. It was understood that his main object was to ascertain the character and strength of Liberal Party sentiment on the subject. Sessions of the Cabinet were held daily, and it became apparent that British Liberal sentiment corresponded closely to that prevailing in the American Peace Commission.

Considerable progress was made in drafting the reply to the German counterproposals by June 5, when it became apparent that the contemplated modification of the terms would involve few changes, and those of a nonfundamental nature. On the same date Premier Paderewski appeared twice before the Council of Four to protest against a proposed plebiscite in Upper Silesia and against suggested changes in the Polish western frontier of strategic importance. Other arguments against the allocation of Upper Silesia to Germany were also presented. By June 11 the reply was completed, and the Council of Five (Baron Makino, representing Japan, had previously been admitted to the council) were busily engaged in editing the revised version of the terms of peace.

#### REVISED TREATY DELIVERED

On Monday, June 16, this revised version of the peace terms granted Germany, together with a covering letter, was delivered to representatives of the German peace delegation at 6:49 P. M., in the reading room of the Hotel des Réservoirs, the German headquarters, by

Paul Dutasta, General Secretary of the Peace Conference. It was received by Secretary Simon and Baron von Loersner of the German delegation, with whom M. Dutasta held a conversation explaining the nature of the document and the time allotted for reply. The original time limit was five days. Herr Simon protested at the shortness of the period, explaining that it would take two days to go and two to return, thus leaving only one day for considering the terms.

M. Dutasta was impressed and returned to Paris by automobile at the rate of seventy miles an hour, and laid the case before Premier Clemenceau. The latter communicated with President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George by telephone, and it was arranged to extend the time two days. M. Dutasta returned to Versailles at a seventy-mile gait and informed the German delegates of the extension just as they were taking their special train for Weimar. The time limitation of the Allies' ultimatum ran to Monday evening, June 23.

Because of pressure of time the final draft of revised terms handed to the Germans was in the form of a copy of the original draft of May 7 with the changes written on the margins in red ink. With this corrected copy the German plenipotentiaries received twenty-nine other copies to which they were to transfer the red-ink changes.

A final meeting of the Council of Five was held the same day. It was attended by Marshal Foch, General Bliss, and other military leaders, who discussed various phases of last-hour moves and possibilities in the German situation.

On the evening of June 16 Count von Brockdorff-Rantzaу, with other members of the German peace delegation, left Versailles for Germany, bearing the revised version of the Peace Treaty. In a hostile French demonstration that occurred on their departure, Herr Theodor Melchior, head of the French Finance Commission, and Frau Dorl blush, one of the secretaries to the delegation, were struck on the head by stones. On hearing of the occurrence Premier Clemenceau at once sent a letter to the head of the German delegation, expressing deep regret for this "reprehensible act," which was

contrary to the law of the Seine and Oise. The Police Commissioners were dismissed from office.

#### NOTE EXCHANGE CONTINUES

The reply of the Council of Four to the German note of May 10 on the repatriation of prisoners of war was delivered on May 22. This indicated that the Allies differentiated between ordinary prisoners and those guilty of crime, and that the latter would be held and punished. The letter of von Brockdorff-Rantzau to M. Clemenceau read as follows:

German Peace Delegation.

Versailles, May 10, 1919.

Sir: The German delegation has noted with satisfaction that the draft treaty handed to it recognizes the principle that the repatriation of German prisoners of war and German interned civilians is to be effected with the greatest possible rapidity.

It is in accordance with the opinion of the German peace delegation that the task of settling the details of the execution of that repatriation should be intrusted to a special commission. Direct conversations between the commissions of nearly all of the belligerent States in regard to prisoners have been shown to be the best means of solving the difficulties, and it ought to be all the easier at the present moment to clear up by early discussion in a commission any divergencies of view or doubts in regard to certain points.

The German peace delegation, bearing in mind the difference of jurisdiction in the various countries concerned, is of the opinion, for instance, that it is indispensable for prisoners of war and interned civilians who have been detained for offenses other than those against discipline to be repatriated unconditionally. Germany recognized this same principle as regards the prisoners of war and interned civilians of the allied and associated powers detained in Germany.

In the view of the German peace delegation, certain alleviations should, as a matter of course and for reasons of equity, be agreed to in favor of prisoners of war and interned civilians for the period which will elapse until their final departure.

The German peace delegation has, moreover, been compelled to note that the arrangements contemplated are favorable only to the allied and associated governments, for instance, so far as concerns the restoration of private property, the search for persons who have disappeared and the care to be taken of graves. The German peace delegation presumes that, for questions such as these, complete reciprocity may be required for general reasons of humanity.

Because of the great technical difficulty of repatriating prisoners of war and interned civilians, especially in view of the shortage

of tonnage and the lack of coal, the greatest importance should be attached to finding a solution of all preliminary questions before the dispatch of the repatriated prisoners and interned civilians actually begins. For that reason the German peace delegation proposes that the commission should start its deliberations forthwith separately from all other questions.

The explanation of this proposal lies, first, in the fact that there are thousands of German prisoners of war and interned civilians in overseas countries, but the German delegation is likewise thinking of the Germans who are in Siberia, and whose dispatch seems to be a question not only of special urgency, but of extraordinary difficulty.

The German delegation for reasons of internal policy regards it of the utmost importance that the German prisoners of war and interned civilians should be returned to their homes in as normal a condition as possible, in order that they might there be brought back as rapidly as possible into the economic life of the country. That only appears possible—the precise settlement of transport problems apart—if everything possible is done to improve the mental and physical state of those who are returning home.

Having regard to the present situation in respect of economic existence in Germany it must be admitted that Germany is unable to do with her own resources everything required in order to secure that end. This refers especially to food and clothing. Therefore the German delegation thinks it desirable that the deliberations of the commission should likewise include an examination of the question of the manner in which the allied and associated governments might assist Germany in the solution of these problems.

The question arises, for instance, of supplying against repayment complete sets of clothing, underclothing, and civilian clothing and footwear for the prisoners before their dispatch.

I avail myself, &c.,

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

The reply of the Council of the Allies was as follows:

Paris, May 22, 1919.

Sir: The representatives of the allied and associated powers have given consideration to the repatriation of the German prisoners of war. In reply, they wish to state that they cannot agree that prisoners of war and civilian prisoners who have been guilty of crimes and offenses should be released. These crimes and penal offenses have been committed on allied soil and have been dealt with by the legally constituted authorities without reference to the fact that the wrongdoer was a German rather than an allied citizen.

For instance, a certain German prisoner

broke at night into the house of a farmer, on whose estate he was set to work, and murdered the farmer and his wife in cold blood with a billhook. For this double murder the said prisoner was sentenced to death on June 11, 1918, by a regularly constituted court-martial.

Under the Berne Convention, however, the execution of the sentence is suspended until peace is signed. Justice would certainly not be satisfied if, as a consequence of the treaty, this murderer was reprieved.

For these reasons the allied and associated powers cannot agree to alter the provisions of the draft treaty in respect to prisoners of war who have been guilty of crimes or penal offenses.

In regard to the second question, the German peace delegation makes no specific suggestions as to the alleviation which they would propose for the prisoners of war and interned civilians between the date of the signing of peace and their repatriation. The allied and associated powers are not aware of what alleviation it is possible to make, seeing that they have scrupulously endeavored to observe both the laws of war and the dictates of humanity in the treatment which they have given to prisoners of war, and that, as provided in the last section of Article 218, it is essential that prisoners of war and interned civilians should remain subject to discipline and control pending their repatriation, in the interests of all concerned.

The German peace delegation may rest assured that it is the intention of the allied and associated Governments to treat their prisoners of war during the period between the signing of peace and their repatriation with full consideration of their feelings and needs.

The restitution of personal property to prisoners of war constitutes a legal right which the allied and associated powers have every intention of respecting. As regards information about the missing, the allied and associated powers have always endeavored to supply the German Government with all

information in their possession on this subject, and they will certainly continue to do so after peace is signed.

Concerning the care of graves, they would point out that Articles 225 and 226 would appear to assure to the German people that the graves of their fellow-citizens shall be both respected and properly maintained, and that so far as is practicable under Clause 225, the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own country.

In regard to the German request for complete reciprocity, the representatives of the allied and associated powers have to state that they felt it necessary to include Article 222, in view of the treatment which their own nationals have received while interned in Germany during the war. As there was no parallel between the treatment which was accorded to prisoners of war by the German Government on the one side and the allied and associated powers on the other, no claim for reciprocity in this respect can arise.

In regard to the third question, the representatives of the allied and associated powers are ready to do everything possible to repatriate German prisoners of war and interned civilians, properly fed and in good condition, after the conclusion of peace. They regret, however, that the present demands on them from the territories recently liberated from the German yoke, as well as from their own nationals, will probably make it impossible for them to supply the prisoners of war with clothing, &c., for which the German delegation asks.

Finally, in regard to the appointment of a commission to deal with the repatriation of prisoners of war, the representatives of the allied and associated powers will be glad to set up such commissions immediately upon the signature of peace. They regret, however, that they do not see their way to appoint them until they are notified of the intention of the plenipotentiaries of the German Empire to sign peace.

I avail myself, &c.,

G. CLEMENCEAU.

### Note on Reparation

It is too late for Germany to seek to deny both the aggression in the war and her responsibility for it. This declaration was made by Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, in replying to the German note on reparation, the text of which, with the reply, was made public on May 20.

The argument put forth by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau was that Germany did not start a war of aggression, that the German people were convinced they fought a defensive war, and that the

present German Government could not be held responsible for "faults" of the former German Government.

Premier Clemenceau took up the points made by the German delegation and declared that the German Government last November made no protest against the charge in a note of Secretary Lansing that Germany was the aggressor. The President of the conference pointed out further that Germany made the French Government of 1871, and the Russian Government of 1917, responsible for the

acts of the Imperial régimes in France and Russia.

The German note read as follows:

At Versailles, May 13, 1919.

To his Excellency, M. Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, Sir:

In the draft of the Peace Treaty submitted to the German delegates, Part VIII., concerning reparation, begins with Article 231, which reads as follows:

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Now the obligation to make reparation has been accepted by Germany by virtue of the note from Secretary of State Lansing of Nov. 5, 1918, independently of the question of responsibility for the war. The German delegation cannot admit that there could arise out of a responsibility incurred by the former German Government in regard to the origin of the world war any right for the allied and associated powers to be indemnified by Germany for losses suffered during the war.

The representatives of the allied and associated States have, moreover, declared several times that the German people should not be held responsible for the faults committed by their Governments. The German people did not will the war and would not have undertaken a war of aggression. They have always remained convinced that this war was for them a defensive war.

The German delegates also do not share the view of the allied and associated Governments in regard to the origin of the war. They cannot consider the former German Government as the party which was solely or chiefly to blame for the war. The draft of the treaty of peace transmitted by you contains no facts in support of this view; no proof on the subject is furnished therein. The German delegates, therefore, beg you to be so good as to communicate to them the report of the commission set up by the allied and associated Governments for the purpose of establishing the responsibility of the authors of the war.

Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my high consideration.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

The text of the reply of Premier Clemenceau was dated May 20, 1919, and was as follows:

Mr. Chairman: In your note of May 18 you state that Germany, while "accepting" in November, 1918, "the obligation to make reparation," did not understand such an acceptance to mean that her responsibility was involved either for the war or for acts of

the former German Government, and that it is only possible to conceive of such an obligation if its origin and cause are the responsibility of the author of the damage. You add that the German people would never have undertaken a war of aggression.

Yet, in the note from Secretary of State Lansing of Nov. 1, 1918, which you approve of and quote in favor of your contention, it is stated that the obligation to make reparation rises out of "Germany's aggression by land, sea, and air."

As the German Government did not at the time make any protest against this allegation, it thereby recognized it as well founded. Therefore, Germany recognized in 1918, implicitly but clearly, both the aggression and her responsibility.

It is too late to seek to deny them today.

It would be impossible, you state further, that the German people should be regarded as the accomplices of the faults committed by the "former German Government." However, Germany has never claimed, and such a declaration would have been contrary to all principles of international law, that a modification of its political régime or a change in the governing personalities would be sufficient to extinguish an obligation already undertaken by any nation. She did not act upon the principle she now contends for either in 1871 as regards France after the proclamation of the republic, nor in 1917 in regard to Russia after the revolution which abolished the Czarist régime.

Finally, you ask that the report of the Commission on Responsibility be communicated to you. In reply, we beg to say that the allied and associated powers consider the reports of the commissions set up by the Peace Conference as documents of an internal character which cannot be transmitted to you.

Accept, Mr. Chairman, &c.,

G. CLEMENCEAU.

#### GERMAN ECONOMIC NOTE

Germany's share of the burdens growing out of the war, as set down in the economic terms of the Peace Treaty, was based on her ability to shoulder it, and not according to her deserts, the allied and associated council declared in its answer to the German note of protest against this section of the treaty.

Germany was mainly responsible for the damage and destruction, it was pointed out, and she could not escape that responsibility. It was not the peace terms, the allied note said, but the acts of those who made and continued the war which were the cause of any sufferings Germany might have to bear.

The allied answer, which was made

public on May 23, with the text of the German note, was negative. It pointed out that the German plea was exaggerated and ignored the fundamental considerations which led to the imposition of the terms.

The loss to world shipping through the German submarine campaign, the reply declared, was nearly 13,000,000 tons. The Allies purposed to make Germany repay only 4,000,000 tons. Responsibility for this shortage in shipping was placed directly on Germany, and the German share in replacing it was called "very moderate."

In answer to the German plea that Germany would be called upon to feed 67,000,000 persons, it was declared that the Peace Treaty took 6,000,000 out of German control. It was added that German agriculture was in better shape than that of Poland, Belgium, and Northern France, where the fighting was heaviest.

The Germans complained that they would lose certain necessary commodities. The allied reply was that Germany could import these goods. Germany, it was asserted, destroyed the Lens coal-fields, and the coalfields taken from her in payment for the destruction wrought still left her sufficient fuel supplies.

The Germans complained that the German population would suffer under the treaty, which was described as a "death sentence." The reply pointed out that all countries were suffering as a result of the war, and there was no reason why Germany, which was responsible for the war, should not suffer.

German figures as to the loss in population due to the blockade and speculation as to what would happen to the population in the future were declared to be fallacious. There would be every opportunity for Germany to make her position in the world both stable and prosperous. Germany, it was pointed out, had not suffered from pillage and devastation, and there would be a saving from reduction of armaments and the size of her army and in the turning of the armament-making population to works of peace.

#### GERMAN COMPLAINTS IN DETAIL

Following is the text of the German note:

Mr. President: In conformity with my communication of the 9th instant I have the honor to present to your Excellency the report of the Economic Commission charged with the study of the effect of the conditions of peace on the situation of the German population:

In the course of the last two generations Germany has become transformed from an agricultural State to an industrial State. As long as she was an agricultural State Germany could feed 40,000,000 inhabitants. In her quality of an industrial State she could insure the nourishment of a population of 67,000,000. In 1913 the importation of foodstuffs amounted in round figures, to 12,000,000 tons. Before the war a total of 15,000,000 of persons provided for their existence in Germany by foreign trade and by navigation, either in a direct or an indirect manner, by the use of foreign raw material.

#### GERMANY'S LOSS OF TONNAGE

According to the conditions of the treaty of peace, Germany will surrender her merchant tonnage and ships in course of construction suitable for overseas trade. German shipbuilding yards will build for five years in the first instance tonnage destined for the allied and associated governments. Germany will, moreover, renounce her colonies, all her overseas possessions, all her interests and securities in the allied and associated countries and in their colonies, dominions, and protectorates; will, as an installment of the payment for part of the reparation, be subject to liquidation, and may be exposed to any other economic war measure which the allied and associated powers think fit to maintain or to take during the years of peace.

By the putting in force of the territorial clauses of the treaty of peace Germany would lose, to the east, the most important regions for the production of corn [cereals] and potatoes, which would be equivalent to the loss of 21 per cent. of the total crop of those articles of food. Moreover, the intensity of our agricultural production would diminish considerably.

On the one hand, the importation of certain raw material indispensable for the production of manure, such as phosphates, would be hindered; on the other hand, this industry would suffer, like all other industries, from lack of coal. The treaty of peace provides for the loss of almost a third of the production of our coal mines. Apart from this decrease, we are forced for ten years to deliver enormous consignments of coal to various allied countries. Moreover, in conformity with the treaty, Germany will concede to her neighbors nearly three-quarters of her mineral production and more than three-fifths of her zinc product.

#### "CONDEMNED TO DESTRUCTION"

After this diminution of her products, after the economic depression caused by the loss of her colonies, of her merchant fleet, and of her possessions abroad. Germany would not be in a state to import from abroad a sufficient quantity of raw material. An enormous part of German industry would therefore inevitably be condemned to destruction. At the same time, the necessity of importing foodstuffs would increase considerably, while the possibility of satisfying that demand would diminish in the same proportion.

At the end of a very short time Germany would, therefore, not be in a position to give bread and work to her numerous millions of inhabitants, who would

be reduced to earn their livelihood by navigation and by trade. Those persons would have to emigrate; but that is a material impossibility, all the more so because many countries, and the most important ones, will oppose any German immigration. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of Germans expelled from the territories of the powers now at war with Germany from the colonies and territories which Germany must surrender, will return to their native land.

The putting into execution of the conditions of peace would, therefore, logically bring about the loss of several millions of persons in Germany. This catastrophe would not be long in coming about, seeing that the health of the population has been broken down during the war by the blockade, and during the armistice by the aggravation of the blockade of famine. No help, however important, or over however long a period it might be distributed, would prevent these deaths en masse. Peace would impose on Germany numberless human sacrifices that this war of four years and a half did not demand of her pride. (1,750,000 killed, nearly 1,000,000 dead, victims of the blockade.)

#### "PUSHED BACK" HALF A CENTURY

We do not know, and indeed we doubt, whether the delegates of the allied and associated powers realize the inevitable consequences which will take place in Germany. An industrial State very thickly populated, closely bound up with the economic system of the world, and reduced to the obligation to import enormous quantities of raw material and food-stuffs, suddenly finds herself pushed back into the phase of her development which would correspond to her economic conditions and the numbers of her population as they were half a century ago. Those who will sign this treaty will sign the death sentence of many millions of German men, women, and children.

I thought it my duty, before entering upon a discussion of other details of the treaty, to bring to the knowledge of the allied and associated delegations this summary exposé of the problem of the German population.

I have at the disposal of your Excellency statistical proofs of the above statements.

I have the honor, &c.,

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

#### CAUSTIC REPLY OF THE ALLIES

The reply of the allied and associated powers, approved by the council of their principal members on May 22, reads as follows:

The allied and associated powers have received and have given careful attention to the report of the commission appointed by the German Government to examine the economic conditions of the treaty of peace.

This report appears to them to contain a very inadequate presentation of the facts of the case, to be marked in parts by great exaggeration, and to ignore the fundamental considerations arising both out of the incidents and the results of the war, which explain and justify the terms that it is sought to impose.

The German note opens with the statement

that the industrial resources of Germany were adequate before the war for the nourishment of a population of 67,000,000, and it argues as though this were the total for which with diminished resources she will still be called upon to provide.

This is not the case. The total population of Germany will be reduced by about 8,000,000 persons in the non-German territories which it is proposed to transfer. It is the needs of this smaller aggregation that we are called upon to consider.

#### RETRIBUTION FOR U-BOAT SAVAGERY

Complaint is made in the German note that Germany is required to surrender her merchant tonnage, existing or in course of construction, and that a prior claim is made upon her shipbuilding capacity for a limited term of years. No mention, however, is made of the fact that a considerable portion of the smaller tonnage of Germany is left to her unimpaired; and it seems to have entirely escaped the notice of her spokesmen that the sacrifice of her larger shipping is the inevitable and necessary penalty imposed upon her for the ruthless campaign which, in defiance of all laws and precedent, she waged during the last two years of the war upon the mercantile shipping of the world.

As a partial offset against the twelve and three-fourths million tons of shipping sunk, it is proposed to transfer four million tons of German shipping. In other words, the shipping which it is proposed to take from Germany constitutes less than one-third of that which was thus wantonly destroyed. The universal shortage of merchant shipping is the result, not of the terms of peace, but of the action of Germany, and no surprise can reasonably be felt if she is called upon to bear a share—and it is a very moderate share—of a loss for which her own criminal deeds have been responsible.

Great stress is laid on the proposal that on the eastern side Germany shall be deprived of the regions specially devoted to the production of wheat and potatoes. This is true. But the note fails altogether to observe that there is nothing in the Peace Treaty to prevent either the continued production of those commodities in the areas in question or their importation into Germany. On the contrary, the free admission of these products of the eastern districts is provided for during a period of three years.

#### CEREAL MARKET OPEN TO GERMANY

Moreover, it is fortunate for Germany that those regions have lost none of their productivity owing to the ravages of war. They have escaped the shocking fate which was dealt out by the German armies to the corresponding territories in Belgium and France on the west, and Poland, Russia, Rumania, and Serbia on the east. There appears to be

no reason why their produce should not continue to find a market on German soil.

Stress is laid upon the proposed restrictions of the import of phosphates. It is, however, forgotten that Germany has never produced, but has always imported, the phosphates of which she stands in need. Nor is there anything in the terms of peace which will prevent or hinder the importation of phosphates into Germany in the future. Other countries which do not produce phosphates also are compelled to import them in common with many other products from the outside, and the only difference in the two situations will arise from the relative degree of wealth or impoverishment in the countries concerned.

The German note makes special complaint of the deprivation of coal, and asserts that nearly one-third of the production of the existing coal mines will be lost. But it omits to notice that one-fourth of the pre-war consumption of German coal was in the territories which it is now proposed to transfer. Further, it fails to take into account the production of lignite, 80,000,000 tons of which were produced annually in Germany before the war, and none of which is derived from the transferred territory. Neither is any reference made to the fact that the output of coal in the non-transferred districts was rapidly increasing before the war, and that there is no reason to doubt that under proper management there will be a continuing increase in the future.

#### PENALTY FOR WRECKING MINES

But should not the coal situation be viewed from a different and wider standpoint? It cannot be forgotten that among the most wanton acts perpetrated by the German armies during the war was the almost complete destruction by her of the coal supplies of Northern France. An entire industry was obliterated with a calculation and a savagery which it will take many years to repair. The result has been a grave and prolonged shortage of coal in Western Europe. There can be no reason in equity why the effect of this shortage should be borne exclusively by the allied nations who were its victims, or why Germany, who deliberately made herself responsible for the deficiency, should not, to the full limit of her capacity, make it good.

#### GERMAN STATISTICS UNRELIABLE

Stress also is laid upon the hardships alleged to be inflicted upon Germany by the necessity of importing in future iron ores and zinc. It is not understood why Germany should be supposed to suffer from conditions to which other countries contentedly submit. It would appear to be a fundamental fallacy that the political control of a country is essential in order to procure a reasonable share of its products. Such a proposal finds no foundation in economic law or in history.

The allied and associated powers cannot

accept the speculative estimate presented to them in the German note on the future conditions of German industry as a whole. This estimate appears to them to be characterized and vitiated by palpable exaggerations. No note is taken of the fact that the economic disaster produced by the war is widespread, and indeed universal. Every country is called upon to suffer. There is no reason why Germany, which was responsible for the war, should not suffer also.

Similarly, as regards the population of the future, no reliance can be placed on the data which are contained in the German note. On the one hand, it is sought to prove that emigration from Germany will be necessary, but that few countries will receive the intending immigrants. On the other hand, it is sought to show that there will be a flood of Germans returning to their native land to live under the conditions which have already been described as intolerable. It would be unwise to attach too much weight to either speculation.

Finally, the German note rashly asserts that the peace conditions will "logically bring about the destruction ('loss' in original) of several millions of persons in Germany," in addition to those who have perished in the war or who are alleged to have lost their lives in consequence of the blockade. Against the war losses of Germany might fairly be placed the far greater losses which her initiative and conduct of the war have inflicted upon the allied countries and which have left an ineffaceable mark upon the manhood of Europe. On the other hand, the figures and the losses alleged to have been caused by the blockade are purely hypothetical. The German estimate of future losses could be accepted only if the premises upon which it is presumed to rest are accepted also.

#### BRITAIN'S EXAMPLE CITED

But they are entirely fallacious. There is not the slightest reason to believe that a population is destined to be permanently disabled because it will be called upon in future to trade across its frontiers instead of producing what it requires from within. A country can both become and can continue to be a great manufacturing country without producing the raw materials of its main industries. Such is the case, for instance, with Great Britain, which imports at least one-half of her food supplies and the great preponderance of her raw materials from abroad.

There is no reason whatever why Germany, under the new conditions, should not build up for herself a position both of stability and prosperity in the European world. Her territories have suffered less than those of any other Continental belligerent State during the war. Indeed, so far as pillage or devastation is concerned, they have not suffered at all. Their remaining and untouched resources, supplemented by the vol-

time of import trade, should be adequate for recovery and development.

The German reply also ignores the immense relief that will be caused to her people in the struggle for recovery by the enforced reduction of her military armaments in future. Hundreds of thousands of her inhabitants who have hitherto been engaged either in training for armies or in producing instruments of destruction will henceforward be available for peaceful vocations and for increasing the industrial productiveness of the nation. No result should be more satisfactory to the German people.

#### NO ESCAPE FROM RESPONSIBILITY

But the first condition of any such recuperation would appear to be that Germany should recognize the facts of the present state of the world, which she has been mainly instrumental in creating, and realize that she cannot escape unscathed. The share which she is being called upon to bear of the enormous calamity that has befallen the world has been apportioned by the victorious powers, not to her deserts, but solely to her ability to bear it.

All the nations of Europe are suffering from losses and are bearing and will continue to bear burdens which are almost more than they can carry. These burdens and losses have been forced upon them by the aggression of Germany. It is right that Germany, which is responsible for the origin of these calamities, should make them good to the utmost of her capacity. Her hardship will arise not from the conditions of peace, but from the acts of those who provoked and prolonged the war. Those who were responsible for the war cannot escape its just consequences.

#### THE GERMAN REPLY

The reply of the German delegation to the note of the allied council was delayed until May 25. In this rejoinder Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau insisted that Germany's only responsibility was for the violation of Belgian neutrality, for which it was ready to make reparation. He declared that all the powers were responsible for the war and that the material damage done was the work of the allied armies as well as the Germans.

#### SARRE BASIN NOTES

Two notes sent by the German delegation on May 13 and May 16, respectively, were answered in a single letter sent by Premier Clemenceau on May 24. The complete text of this exchange was made public by the State Department at Wash-

ington on May 25. Following is the German note:

Versailles, May 13, 1919.  
From German Peace Delegation to his Excellency the President of the Peace Conference.

Sir: The German peace delegation has inferred from the note of your Excellency, dated the 10th instant, that the allied and associated Governments have formed the terms of the treaty with constant thought of the principles upon which, at the time, the armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. The German delegation will not, of course, cast doubts upon this basis; they must, however, reserve to themselves the right of pointing out those conditions which, according to their views, are inconsistent with the contention of the allied and associated Governments.

Such an inconsistency is principally obvious with regard to those conditions of the draft of the treaty which bear upon the cession of different parts of the territory of the empire inhabited by a German population. Apart from the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to France and from the occupation of Kehl, which points I reserve to myself to treat later on, the temporary or permanent surrender of the following fractions of German territory is required from Germany: The Sarre Basin, the districts of Eupen and Malmedy as well as Prussian Moresnet, Upper Silesia, German districts of Middle Silesia, Posnania, West Prussia and East Prussia. The provisions made for the administrative department (Regierungsbezirk) of Schleswig also mean in the end a cession of parts of German territory.

The German delegation fully realizes that for a number of provisions on changes in territory, contained in the draft of the treaty of peace, the principle of national self-determination may indeed be assured, as certain groups of the population up to now under German dominion, e. g., Poles, look upon themselves as non-Germans. In the Schleswig problem, too, reasons of nationality may be alleged, albeit the German delegation cannot see whence the allied and associated Governments derive the authority for making the question of the boundary, to be settled between Germany and Denmark, an object of the peace negotiations. The neutral Danish Government knows the present German Government always to have been ready to come to an understanding with it about the new frontier corresponding to the principle of nationality. In case the Danish Government should nevertheless prefer urging its claims by taking the circuitous way of the peace negotiations, the German Government is not of a mind to object to this.

But this willingness of the German Government does not extend to those territories of the empire which are not undoubtedly inhabited by a population of foreign extraction. Above all it deems it to be inadmis-

sible that by the treaty of peace German populations and territories should be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game for the purpose of giving guarantee for financial or economic claims of the adversaries of Germany.

#### SARRE BASIN A CASE IN POINT

This especially holds good of the Sarre Basin. Nobody denies that an unalloyed German population is living there. In spite of this the draft of the treaty of peace provides for a transfer of sovereignty over this partly Prussian, partly Bavarian territory upon France, which needs must lead up to a complete coalescence with regard to the management of customs, the coinage, administration, legislation and jurisdiction, or which, at the very least, will in all these respects put an utter end to the contact of the Sarre district with the rest of the empire.

The authorities of the occupying powers cannot be ignorant of the fact that the whole population is resisting with the utmost determination such a severing from the old home country. The few persons pretending to think otherwise, because they either fawn upon the existing power or hope to secure for themselves illicit gains, do not count.

It would be all to no purpose to object that the occupation is only meant to last for fifteen years and that on the expiration of this delay a plebiscite is to decide on the future nationality, for the return of the territory to Germany is made dependent on the German Government's then being able to buy within short delay all the coal mines of the territory from the French Government against [?] in gold, and if payment cannot be effected, the country is finally to pass over to France, even though the population should unanimously have voted for Germany.

Considering the financial and economical conditions of the treaty, it appears to be impossible that Germany would within fifteen years have the requisite quantity of gold at her disposal; moreover, even should the gold be in the possession of Germany the Interallied Reparation Commission, which then would still be reigning over Germany, would hardly permit such a use of the gold to be made. In the history of modern times there will very probably exist no instance whatever that one civilized power has obliged another to surrender its nationals to foreign sway as an equivalent for a sum of gold.

#### PAYING FOR DEVASTATION

In the public opinion of the hostile countries, the cession of the Sarre Basin is represented as being just compensation for the devastation of mines in Northern France. The German delegation acknowledge that France must be compensated for these damages. They also admit that compensation in money alone would not meet the present im-

paired economic position of France. The claim to compensation in kind being thus acknowledged as justified, such compensation in kind should and can be effected in another way than by submitting a territory to a foreign rule which, notwithstanding the most humane intentions of those in power, always remains odious.

The German delegation is prepared immediately to enter into discussions with the allied and associated Governments on the question how the deficiency in output of coal in the provinces formerly occupied by Germany may be compensated, as has been promised by Germany, till the devastated mines are repaired.

In this respect they propose that in lieu of a primitive and disproportionate form of restitution through surrendering the Sarre coal basin and transferring its coal mines to France a more equitable arrangement be sought. The deficiency in coal existing in Northern France and Belgium should not alone be compensated with Sarre coal, but with Ruhr. Apart from the fact that it would be inexpedient on grounds of transport policy to devote only Sarre coal, which up to now had a totally different natural market, to this purpose of compensation, it appears essential also to resort to the Ruhr territory, as the departments which have suffered damages depend for their coal supply just as much on the product of the Ruhr territory as on the Sarre territory.

The German delegation is convinced that it would not be difficult to arrive at an arrangement on this question of supplying coal which would satisfy all legitimate claims of France. To this end, it would only be necessary that the experts of both parties enter into direct relation with each other and discuss the terms of delivery on a business footing.

As to Belgium, Germany is prepared to make full reparation for the damages suffered by her. Therefore, she sees no reason why she is to be forced to cede Prussian Moresnet and the districts of Eupen and of Malmédy. It is impossible to prove that these districts are inhabited by an undoubtedly non-German population. The plebiscite through which it is intended to give the inhabitants a seeming right of taking part in the determination of their future destiny, would find no base in the principles of peace agreed upon between the belligerents.

According to the draft of the treaty of peace, however, such plebiscite is not even to be decisive; instead a body in which Germany is in no way represented is called upon to determine the future of the territory as it may think fit, even though the population have expressed their desire to remain part of Germany. This provision is in itself inequitable and at variance with the principle that no national tendency should be satisfied if by such satisfaction new elements of discord and connection are created.

The German delegates reserve for them-

selves liberty of returning to the provisions of the treaty draft concerning territorial changes in the east of Germany in a special note.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high esteem. BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

### SECOND GERMAN NOTE

The text of the German note dated May 16, dealing solely with the question of the Sarre Basin and supplementing the note of May 13, regarding the boundaries of Germany, is as follows:

German Peace Delegation,  
Versailles, May 16, 1919.

Sir: In my note dated 13th instant on the territorial provisions of the peace draft, relating to the west of Germany, I pointed out in the name of the Germanic delegation that the guarantees which are required especially for the reparation of the damages caused to the coal mines of Northern France could best be given by economical agreements that should be discussed *viva voce* by the experts of both parties.

It does not appear to the German peace delegation to be advisable that such agreements should be delayed to the extent provided for by Paragraph 38 of the annex to Articles 45 to 50 of the conditions of peace, i. e., till the fifteen years' period of occupation intended for the Sarre Basin has expired.

In connection herewith I beg to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed draft, a proposal which has been elaborated by the experts of the German peace delegation, requesting you to submit the same to the experts of the allied and associated Governments for examination and to let me have a reply as to whether *viva voce* discussion of the proposal can be taken into view.

The German delegation would only contemplate publishing the experts' proposal if the allied and associated Governments should on their part attach value thereto.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest esteem.

(Signed) BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.  
To his Excellency,  
The President of the Peace Conference,  
M. Clemenceau.

### PROPOSAL OF GERMAN EXPERTS

According to Article 45 of the Peace Treaty, the chief object of the measures proposed in Part 3, Section 4, concerning the Sarre Basin is to furnish compensation for the destroyed coal mines in the north of France and to make good in part the war damages caused by Germany. According to Article 46, the full freedom of exploitation is to be insured by the provisions contained in Chapter 2 of the Annex.

The point at issue is therefore to satisfy and safeguard economic interests of France.

In a like sense the provision of Paragraph 38 of the Annex could be taken, provided that the agreements therein mentioned between France and Germany are to be understood officially as being of an economic nature.

We are of opinion that this end could be obtained by other measures than those mentioned above, namely, by such as are conducive to an adjustment of the interests of both parties. We therefore propose the following:

1. Having in view the necessity of adequately supplying France with coal it does not seem advisable to treat the question of the Saare territory without having regard to the coal supplies of France and some of her allies provided for in Part 8, Annex 5. In order to meet the interests in question as completely as possible, the following questions must be answered:

(a) Which quantities of the different kinds of coal are required to meet the total inland demand in France and Belgium?

(b) Which quantities of coal are to be supplied to the different regions, in particular, of France?

We are prepared immediately to ascertain to what extent we are capable of supplying the required quantities and for this purpose to draw up a plan of delivery. In so doing regard will have to be taken to the necessity of providing for increased transport by sea, in view of the long expanse of time over which the obligation to deliver coal is extended.

It would be necessary to fix the details of delivery in *viva voce* negotiations between the experts of the powers interested.

2. As to reparation of the war damages suffered by the coal mines we propose the following:

The concerns damaged in Northern France to participate by shares to an extent agreed upon in such German coal mines as are charged with the delivery of coal to the regions mentioned.

The details of this transaction to be settled mutually by the German-French experts.

3. The object of the measures provided for in Article 49 and in Chapter 2 of the Annex to Part 3, Section 4, concerning the Saare territory, is, just as that of occupation of the territory to the left of the Rhine and of the bridgeheads, to insure the fulfillment of the obligation which will be undertaken by Germany.

These measures, as well as the measure of control carried out and contemplated up to now by the allied and associated Governments, measures which mean a restriction or cancellation of the liberty of German economic life, would, apart from the heavy political danger, moreover, paralyze the concerted capacity of Germany, the entire maintenance of which is of the utmost importance also for her neighbors. In lieu of these measures we are ready to propose a system of guarantees of economic nature perfectly

on a par with the former. As far as supply of coal enters into account, we allow ourselves to be guided by the following principles. The desired guarantees for regularity of production and delivery may be given in the following way:

(a) By the participation of French concerns, (mentioned sub voce 2,) which is to be realized to an extent insuring to them a considerable influence upon the administration of the German concerns in question.

(b) By the grant of a right of precedence as to the surplus of the entire German output in coals over and above the home requirements. Should this surplus not suffice for the discharge of the quantities of supplies agreed upon, the consumption of coals from Germany, France, and Belgium will be rationed in due proportion; for the purpose of superintending the putting into execution of the above-mentioned measure a committee consisting of representatives of Germany, France, and Belgium is to be established. This agreement would likewise have to take into account the interests of Italy.

#### PREMIER CLEMENCEAU'S REPLY

M. Clemenceau's reply, as President of the Peace Conference, follows:

May 24, 1919.

Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 13, 1919, and also of your further letter of May 16; as the two communications concern the same subject, it will be convenient that I should arrange them in one letter.

With regard to the more general observations contained in your first letter, I must emphatically deny on behalf of the allied and associated Governments the suggestion contained in it that "German territories are by the treaty of peace made the subject of bargains between one sovereignty and another as though they were mere chattels and pawns in a game." In fact, the wishes of the population of all the territories in question will be consulted and the procedure followed in such consultation has been carefully settled with special regard to local conditions.

Territories ceded to Belgium. Full liberty is insured for popular opinion to express itself within a period of six months. The only exception that has been made applies to that part of the territory of Prussian Moresnet lying west of the road from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle, the population of which numbers less than 500 inhabitants, and in which the woods are transferred to Belgium as part preparation for the destruction of forests by Germany on Belgian territory.

As to Schleswig. I am to explain that this question was taken up by the Peace Conference on the request of the Danish Government and the population of Schleswig.

As regards the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin, the "domination" which is termed "odious" in your letter is the administra-

tion of the League of Nations. The scheme contained in Section 4 has been drawn up with the greatest care so that, while it provides compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France, it also secures the rights and welfare of the population. They are assured of the maintenance of all their present liberties, and in addition there are guaranteed to them in financial and social matters a number of special advantages; moreover, definite provision is made after a period of fifteen years for a plebiscite which will enable this population, which is of so complex a character, to determine the final form of government of the territory in which it lives, in full freedom and not necessarily to the advantage either of France or Germany.

As a larger part of your two communications is devoted to observations on the scheme concerning the Sarre Basin, I must explain that the allied and associated Governments have chosen this particular form of reparation because it was felt that the destruction of the mines in the north of France was an act of such nature that a definite and exemplary retribution should be exacted; this object would not be attained by the mere supply of a specified or unspecified amount of coal. This scheme, therefore, in its general provisions must be maintained and to this the allied and associated powers are not prepared to agree to any alternative.

For this reason the suggestion you make in your first letter for some other means of making good the deficiency of coal—a suggestion which is developed with more precision in the annex to your second letter—cannot be accepted. In particular I would point out that no arrangement of the kind put forward could give to France the security and certainty which she would receive from the full exploitation and free ownership of the mines of the Sarre.

#### MINE SHARES OF DOUBTFUL VALUE

Similarly, the contemplated handing over of shares in German coal mines situated in German territory and subject to German exploitation would be of doubtful value to French holders and would create a confusion of French and German interests which, under present circumstances, could not be [word illegible]. The complete and immediate transfer to France of mines adjacent to the French frontier constitutes a more prompt, secure, and businesslike method of compensation for the destruction of the French coal mines; at the same time, by securing that the value of the mines should be credited to the reparation account due from Germany, it makes full use of them as a means of payment in the general account of reparation.

In some points your letter of the 13th seems to have been written under a misapprehension as to the meaning and purport of certain articles in the scheme. There is not, as you suggest, in the treaty any confusion between trade contracts to be established for

delivery of coal from the Ruhr district (see Annex 5 of Part VIII.) and the cession of the Sarre mines. The two questions are essentially distinct.

The interpretation which you in your letter place upon Clause 36 of the annex assumes that the effect of this clause will be to bring about a result which emphatically is not one which the allied and associated Governments ever contemplated. In order to remove any possibility of misunderstanding, and in order to avoid the difficulties which you apprehend as to Germany's ability to effect the payment in gold contemplated in this clause, the allied and associated Governments have decided that some alteration is desirable; they propose, therefore, to substitute for the last paragraph of the said clause the following:

"The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparations Commission, and for the purpose of this payment Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparations Commission.

"If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which the payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparations Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidation of that portion of the mines which is in question."

I have, &c.,  
G. CLEMENCEAU.

#### NOTE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR

The exchange of notes between the Peace Conference and the German delegation regarding international labor legislation, as made public, consisted of the English text of a note dated May 22, from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau to President Clemenceau, and the allied reply from President Clemenceau dated May 31.

The note of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau of May 22 follows:

Sir: In the name of the German delegation I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your reply note, dated May 14, 1919, which has been given us on our note concerning international labor legislation.

The German delegation takes note of the fact that the allied and associated Governments are of one mind with the German democratic Government in believing domestic peace and the advancement of humanity to be dependent on the solution of labor questions. The German delegation, however, does not agree with the allied and associated Governments as to the ways and means of arriving at the solution.

In order to avoid misunderstandings and false impressions, the German delegation deems it to be necessary to elucidate the fun-

damental conditions precedent underlying their note of May 10, 1919.

In the opinion of the German democratic Government, the final decision in questions of labor law and labor protection belongs to the workers themselves. It was the intention of the German delegation to give occasion, even while the negotiations of peace are proceeding, to the legitimate representatives of the working people of all countries of casting their vote on this point and bringing into conformity the draft of the conditions of peace, the proposal of the German democratic Government and the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference held at Berne from Feb. 5 to Feb. 9, 1919. Contrary to this proposal, the allied and associated Governments do not think it necessary to call a labor conference at Versailles for this purpose.

The International Labor Conference contemplated to be held at Washington, D. C., to which you refer in your reply note of May 14, 1919, cannot replace the conference demanded by us, because it is to be held on the principles which are established by the draft of the treaty of peace for the organization of labor. The latter, however, disregards the demands raised by the International Trade Union Conference in Berne in two material directions. The first divergence is in respect to the representation of the workers. According to the proposal of the International Labor Conference at Berne one-half of the members of the conference entitled to vote must consist of legal representatives of the workers of each country who are organized in trade unions. The German delegation has indorsed this proposal by transmitting the protocol of the International Trade Union Conference at Berne.

#### REPRESENTATION OF LABOR

Contrary to this, the draft of the treaty of peace grants to the workers only one-quarter of the total votes at the International Conference, for, according to the draft of the allied and associated Governments, each country is to be represented by two Government delegates, one employer, and only one worker. The Governments are even in a position, according to Article 390 of the draft of the treaty of peace, to exclude the workers' vote by nominating an employer, and thus giving to Government bureaucrats the casting vote as against the representatives of practical life. This system is at variance with the democratic principles which to the present day have been upheld and fought for in common by the whole international work people, and will deepen the impression held among the workers that they are, as before, furthermore to be the object of legislation governed by the interest of private capital.

The second divergence refers to the legally binding force of the resolutions of the conference. According to the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference at

Berne the International Parliament of Labor is to issue not only international conventions without legally binding force, but also international laws which, from the moment of their adoption, are to have the same effect (legally binding force) as national laws, (proclamations to the workers of all countries, adopted by the International Trade Union Conference at Berne, 1919, at the motion of Jousaux, the delegate from France.) The draft of the German Democratic Government indorses this resolution and makes the passing of such laws depend on the assent of four-fifths of the nations represented. No such resolution can be passed by a conference which is called on the basis of Part 13 of the draft of the treaty, but only recommendations or drafts which the Governments concerned may adopt or repudiate, and for such non-obligatory proposals a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast is even required.

#### ESSENTIAL TO SOCIAL PEACE

In so providing, the draft of the conditions of peace deviates to such an extent from the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference at Berne that a discussion and decision by the organizations of labor, as part of the peace negotiations, is absolutely imperative. This would at the same time be in accordance with the demand raised by the International Trade Union Conference at Berne that the minimum claims of labor agreed upon be, already at the conclusion of peace, turned into international law by the society of nations. Moreover, a firm foundation for the peace of the world shall be erected by this means, whereas a treaty concluded by the Governments alone without the assent of the organized workers of all countries will never bring forth social peace to the world.

The allied and associated Governments give no place to these considerations in their reply. As have above been illustrated, the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference at Berne are in fact not taken into consideration by Part 13 of the draft of the treaty of peace, so that the fears expressed by the German Democratic Government with regard to social justice are in reality not taken into account. This fact must be noted. If we are apprised by the reply note that the representatives of the trade unions of the countries represented by the allied and associated Governments have taken part in the elaboration of the clauses of the conditions of peace relating to labor, we must, on the other hand, make note of the fact that they have made no announcement of any kind notifying a change of their view on the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference at Berne, much less of an abandonment of these resolutions which they sacredly have adopted.

The German delegation again moves to call a conference of representatives of the national organizations of all trade unions be-

fore the negotiations of peace are terminated. Should this motion again be rejected an utterance of the leaders of the trade unions of all countries is at least necessary. In moving this we desire to bring about that the provisions of the treaty of peace relating to labor may also have the approval of all trade union organizations.

Accept, Sir, &c.

#### TEXT OF ALLIED REPLY

The following is the allied reply, dated May 31, signed by President Clemenceau, to the Brockdorff-Rantzau note of May 22 regarding international labor legislation:

The President of the Peace Conference to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau.

Paris, May 31, 1919.

Sir: In the name of the allied and associated Governments I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your further note dated May 22, 1919, on the subject of international labor legislation. (Conditions of peace, Part 13.) The reply is as follows:

1. The German delegation states the principle for the German National Government that to the wage earners belongs the final decision in questions of labor law. The allied institutions hold it to be their duty to collaborate with labor in the formulation of such law. But the laws must be passed by representatives of the whole community.

2. The allied and associated Governments draw attention to a misconception in the note to the German Government on May 22, 1919, namely, that the views and interests of Governments must necessarily be antagonistic to those of labor. Accredited labor representatives now form some part of the genuine democratic Governments of the world, and the assumed antagonism is not likely to be found anywhere save in the case of Governments which are democratic only in name.

3. The allied and associated Governments fail to find in your letter any useful guidance as to how the principles involved could in any case find definite expression in the Peace Treaty. The labor organization, which was submitted to representatives of labor, can deal in a practical manner in any proposal put forward by any one of the affiliated members. It is not correct to say that the demands raised by the International Trade Union Congress at Berne are disregarded, inasmuch as the points raised in these resolutions as well as all other relevant considerations were discussed and carefully considered, and for the most part are embodied in the preamble of Part 13 or in the general principles which are accepted to guide the League of Nations and the labor organization in the attainment of social justice. There is manifestly no need for another conference to repeat those resolutions or to cause unnecessary confusion or delay by adding to or

departing from them. The widest publicity has been given to the plan of labor organization and the responsible trade union leaders have been given an ample opportunity to formulate definite suggestions.

4. The allied and associated Governments have already decided to accept the idea of early admission of German representatives, and to ask the Washington conference to admit them immediately thereafter to full membership and rights in respect to the industrial labor organization and the governing body attached thereto.

5. While the resolutions passed by the Berne conference, February, 1919, gave expression to the wishes of the workers and defined their aspirations for the future, the Washington conference provides the means of giving effect to such of these aspirations as can be embodied in legislation without delay, and the labor organization will give opportunities for progressive expression to others, in accordance with the guiding principles already mentioned. The Labor Commission, moreover, set up by the Peace Conference envisaged all the points mentioned in your letter, as coming within the scope of the labor organization, including an international code of law for the protection of the seamen, to be especially drawn up with the collaboration of the seamen's union, (copy annexed.)

6. It also adopted a resolution (copy annexed) in favor of the organization being given power as soon as possible to pass resolutions possessing the force of International law. International labor laws cannot at present be made operative merely by resolutions passed at conferences. The workers of one country are not prepared to be bound in all matters by laws imposed on them by representatives of other countries; international conventions as provided for under the Peace Treaty are therefore at present more effective than International labor laws, for the infringement of which no penal sanctions can be applied.

#### MORE LIBERAL REPRESENTATION

7. In reply to the statement as to the divergence from democratic principles, the proposal of the allied and associated Governments, already pointed out, goes further than that of the German proposition; for three-quarters of the delegates at the labor conference will directly and indirectly represent the wishes of the population generally, the two Governmental delegates representing the people at large and the labor delegates representing the workers directly, the employers of labor being granted a representation of only one-quarter. The theory of the German delegation that Article 390 of the draft may "exclude the workers" is wholly fallacious, as the so-called Governmental representatives, at least those of the allied and associated powers, would be representatives of the people of those countries. It is to be remembered that in many countries a very large

part of the workers are engaged in agriculture and that these workers are not generally united in industrial organizations, and it is therefore peculiarly apparent that their interests should be represented in labor conferences through the Governments.

8. Furthermore, the proposal of the German delegation would permit the prevention of the most beneficent legislation if it was opposed by one-fifth of the Governments represented at the labor conference. It is of particular importance to notice that according to the proposal of the German delegation each country in such a conference would have one vote, and thus the votes of Governments representing perhaps only an insignificant minority of the workers of the world would be able to defeat any proposal whatsoever. In striking contrast with this autocratic idea is the proposal of the allied and associated powers, which not only permits voting in conferences to be by delegates and not by Governments, but also permits a definite proposal to be made by two-thirds of the delegates.

#### NEW CONFERENCE UNNECESSARY

9. At the present time active preparations are being made for the first meeting of the international labor organization in October. It is obvious, therefore, that no need exists for interposing a labor conference at Versailles. Moreover, the suggestion of the German delegation that the peace negotiations should be delayed in order to permit of another labor conference is contrary to the interests of the workers throughout the world, who are more interested than any one else in a return to peace as a relief from the conditions produced by four years of German aggression. The allied and associated Governments, taking account of this most just desire, are endeavoring not to postpone, but, on the contrary, to hasten the conclusion of peace and to secure the adoption of those measures of social amelioration which would doubtless have been adopted ere this had it not been that the commencement of the war by Germany turned the efforts and thought of the world's population toward a struggle for liberty, during which time other ideals were necessarily subordinated to that of freedom itself.

CLEMENCEAU.

Annex 1. The commission considers that the very special questions to be accorded to seamen might be dealt with at a special meeting of the International Labor Conference devoted exclusively to the affairs of seamen.

Annex 2. The commission expresses the hope that as soon as it may be possible an agreement will be arrived at between the high contracting parties with a view to endowing the International Labor Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations with power to take, under conditions to be determined, resolutions possessing the force of international law.

## The German Counterproposals

### Text of Brockdorff's Covering Letter and Official Summary of the Main Document

THE German counterproposals to the conditions of peace laid down at Versailles on May 7 were delivered to the Secretariat of the Peace Conference on May 29. These counterproposals filled 119 pages. With them was transmitted to Premier Clemenceau a covering letter from Count von Brockdorff-Rantzaus of the same date. Both were made public in Paris on June 15. The German counterarguments followed the main outline of the original draft of the treaty, and two separate documents on legal and financial questions were included as part of the general reply. English and French translations were furnished in pamphlet form; the former totaled about 60,000 words.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzaus' covering letter is given herewith:

Mr. President: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the observations of the German delegation on the draft treaty of peace. We came to Versailles in the expectation of receiving a peace proposal based on the agreed principles. We were firmly resolved to do everything in our power with a view of fulfilling the grave obligations which we had undertaken. We hoped for the peace of justice which had been promised to us. We were aghast when we read in documents the demands made upon us, the victorious violence of our enemies. The more deeply we penetrate into the spirit of this treaty, the more convinced we become of the impossibility of carrying it out. The exactions of this treaty are more than the German people can bear.

With a view to the re-establishment of the Polish State we must renounce indisputably German territory—nearly the whole of the Province of West Prussia, which is preponderantly German; of Pomerania; Danzig, which is German to the core; we must let that ancient Hanse town be transformed into a free State under Polish suzerainty. We must agree that East Prussia shall be amputated from the body of the State, condemned to a lingering death, and robbed of its northern portion, including Memel, which is purely German. We must renounce Upper Silesia for the benefit of Poland and Czechoslovakia, although it has been in close

political connection with Germany for more than 750 years, is instinct with German life, and forms the very foundation of industrial life throughout East Germany.

Preponderantly German circles (Kreise) must be ceded to Belgium, without sufficient guarantees that the plebiscite, which is only to take place afterward, will be independent. The purely German district of the Sarre must be detached from our empire, and the way must be paved for its subsequent annexation to France, although we owe her debts in coal only, not in men.

For fifteen years Rhineland territory must be occupied, and after those fifteen years the Allies have power to refuse the restoration of the country; in the interval the Allies can take every measure to sever the economic and moral links with the mother country, and finally to misrepresent the wishes of the indigenous population.

#### "PERPETUAL SLAVE LABOR"

Although the exactation of the cost of the war has been expressly renounced, yet Germany, thus cut in pieces and weakened, must declare herself ready in principle to bear all the war expenses of her enemies, which would exceed many times over the total amount of German State and private assets.

Meanwhile her enemies demand, in excess of the agreed conditions, reparation for damage suffered by their civil population, and in this connection Germany must also go ball for her allies. The sum to be paid is to be fixed by our enemies unilaterally, and to admit of subsequent modification and increase. No limit is fixed, save the capacity of the German people for payment, determined not by their standard of life, but solely by their capacity to meet the demands of their enemies by their labor. The German people would thus be condemned to perpetual slave labor.

In spite of the exorbitant demands, the reconstruction of our economic life is at the same time rendered impossible. We must surrender our merchant fleet. We are to renounce all foreign securities. We are to hand over to our enemies our property in all German enterprises abroad, even in the countries of our allies. Even after the conclusion of peace the enemy States are to have the right of confiscating all German property. No German trader in their countries will be protected from these war measures. We must completely renounce our colonies, and not even German missionaries shall have the

right to follow their calling therein. We must thus renounce the realization of all our aims in the spheres of politics, economics, and ideas.

Even in internal affairs we are to give up the right to self-determination. The international Reparation Commission receives dictatorial powers over the whole life of our people in economic and cultural matters. Its authority extends far beyond that which the empire, the German Federal Council, and the Reichstag combined ever possessed within the territory of the empire. This commission has unlimited control over the economic life of the State, of communities, and of individuals. Further, the entire educational and sanitary system depends on it. It can keep the whole German people in mental thrall. In order to increase the payments due, by the thrall, the commission can hamper measures for the social protection of the German worker.

In other spheres also Germany's sovereignty is abolished. Her chief waterways are subjected to international administration; she must construct in her territory such canals and such railways as her enemies wish; she must agree to treaties the contents of which are unknown to her, to be concluded by her enemies with the new States on the east, even when they concern her own functions. The German people is excluded from the League of Nations, to which is intrusted all work of common interest to the world.

Thus must a whole people sign the decree for its own proscription, nay, its own death sentence.

Germany knows that she must make sacrifices in order to attain peace. Germany knows that she has, by agreement, undertaken to make these sacrifices, and will go in this matter to the utmost limits of her capacity.

#### COUNTERPROPOSALS MADE

1. Germany offers to proceed with her own disarmament in advance of all other peoples, in order to show that she will help to usher in the new era of the peace of justice. She gives up universal compulsory service and reduces her army to 100,000 men, except as regards temporary measures. She even renounces the warships which her enemies are still willing to leave in her hands. She stipulates, however, that she shall be admitted forthwith as a State with equal rights into the League of Nations. \* \* \* She stipulates that a genuine League of Nations shall come into being, embracing all peoples of good-will, even her enemies of to-day. The League must be inspired by a feeling of responsibility toward mankind and have at its disposal a power to enforce its will sufficiently strong and trusty to protect the frontiers of its members.

2. In territorial questions Germany takes up her position unreservedly on the ground of the Wilson program. She renounces her

sovereign right in Alsace-Lorraine, but wishes a free plebiscite to take place there. She gives up the greater part of the province of Posen, the district incontestably Polish in population, together with the capital. She is prepared to grant to Poland, under international guarantees, free and secure access to the sea by ceding free ports at Danzig, Königsberg, and Memel, by an agreement regulating the navigation of the Vistula and by special railway conventions. Germany is prepared to insure the supply of coal for the economic needs of France, especially from the Sarre region, until such time as the French mines are once more in working order. The preponderantly Danish districts of Schleswig will be given up to Denmark on the basis of a plebiscite. Germany demands that the right of self-determination shall also be respected where the interests of the Germans in Austria and Bohemia are concerned.

She is ready to subject all her colonies to administration by the community of the League of Nations, if she is recognized as its mandatory.

#### OFFERS 100,000,000,000 MARKS

3. Germany is prepared to make payments incumbent on her in accordance with the agreed program of peace up to a maximum sum of 100,000,000,000 gold marks, 20,000,000,-000 by May 1, 1926, and the balance (80,000,-000,000) in annual payments, without interest. These payments shall in principle be equal to a fixed percentage of the German Imperial and State revenues. The annual payment shall approximate to the former peace budget. For the first ten years the annual payments shall not exceed 1,000,000,000 gold marks a year. The German taxpayer shall not be less heavily burdened than the taxpayer of the most heavily burdened State among those represented on the Reparation Commission.

Germany presumes in this connection that she will not have to make any territorial sacrifices beyond those mentioned above and that she will recover her freedom of economic movement at home and abroad.

4. Germany is prepared to devote her entire economic strength to the service of the reconstruction. She wishes to co-operate effectively in the reconstruction of the devastated regions of Belgium and Northern France. To make good the loss in production of the destroyed mines of Northern France, up to 20,000,000 tons of coal will be delivered annually for the first five years, and up to 80,000,000 tons for the next five years. Germany will facilitate further deliveries of coal to France, Belgium, Italy, and Luxembourg.

Germany is, moreover, prepared to make considerable deliveries of benzol, coal tar, and sulphate of ammonia, as well as dye-stuffs and medicines.

5. Finally, Germany offers to put her entire merchant tonnage into a pool of the world's shipping, to place at the disposal of her enemies a part of her freight space as

part payment of reparation and to build for them for a series of years in German yards an amount of tonnage exceeding their demands.

6. In order to replace the river boats destroyed in Belgium and Northern France, Germany offers river craft from her own resources.

7. Germany thinks that she sees an appropriate method for the prompt fulfillment of her obligation to make reparations conceding participation in coal mines to insure deliveries of coal.

8. Germany, in accordance with the desires of the workers of the whole world, wishes to insure to them free and equal rights. She wishes to insure to them in the treaty of peace the right to take their own decisive part in the settlement of social policy and social protection.

9. The German delegation again makes its demand for a neutral inquiry into the responsibility for the war and culpable acts in conduct. An impartial commission should have the right to investigate on its own responsibility the archives of all the belligerent countries and all the persons who took an important part in the war.

Nothing short of confidence that the question of guilt will be examined dispassionately can leave the peoples lately at war with each other in the proper frame of mind for the formation of the League of Nations.

These are only the most important among the proposals which we have to make. As regards other great sacrifices, and also as regards the details, the delegation refers to the accompanying memorandum and the annex thereto.

The time allowed us for the preparation of this memorandum was so short that it was impossible to treat all the questions exhaustively. A fruitful and illuminating negotiation could only take place by means of oral discussion. This treaty of peace is to be the greatest achievement of its kind in all history. There is no precedent for the conduct of such comprehensive negotiations by an exchange of written notes only. The feeling of the peoples who have made such immense sacrifices makes them demand that their fate should be decided by an open, unreserved exchange of ideas on the principle: "Quite open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly in the public view."

Germany is to put her signature to the treaty laid before her and to carry it out. Even in her need, justice for her is too sacred a thing to allow her to stoop to achieve conditions which she cannot undertake to carry out. Treaties of peace signed by the great powers have, it is true, in the history of the last decades, again and again proclaimed the right of the stronger. But each of these treaties of peace has been a factor in originating and prolonging the

world war. Whenever in this war the victor has spoken to the vanquished, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, his words were but the seeds of future discord. The lofty aims which our adversaries first set before themselves in their conduct of the war, the new era of an assured peace of justice, demand a treaty instinct with a different spirit. Only the co-operation of all nations, a co-operation of hands and spirits, can build up a durable peace. We are under no delusions regarding the strength of the hatred and bitterness which this war has engendered, and yet the forces which are at work for a union of mankind are stronger now than ever they were before. The historic task of the Peace Conference of Versailles is to bring about this union.

Accept, Mr. President, the expression of my distinguished consideration.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

#### GERMAN COUNTERPROPOSALS

Following is a full summary of the German counterproposals, which accompanied the foregoing letter, and to which the Peace Conference devoted many days of labor while formulating its answer:

**CHAPTER I.—Legal Basis of Peace.** The German delegates state that they entered upon their task with the conviction that the contents of the treaty of peace had in principle been outlined by the events preceding it.

They then recapitulate the interchange of communications with President Wilson, between Oct. 15, 1918, and the armistice on Nov. 11. As a result of these they consider that Germany, as a basis of peace, has expressly accepted President Wilson's Fourteen Points and nothing else. The acceptance of the terms of the armistice was to be evidence for the honest acceptance of these conditions by Germany. This evidence has been furnished. The Allies also have accepted President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and a solemn agreement as to the basis of peace therefore exists between the two contracting parties. Germany has a right to this basis, and the Allies, by forsaking it, would break an international legal agreement. But the practical application of the principles must be negotiated upon and Germany has a right to discussion.

**CHAPTER II.—Contradictions.** Chapter II. deals at length with the alleged contradiction between the draft of the treaty and this agreed basis, taken in connection with previous assurances of the statesmen of the Entente. The delegates point out that their enemies have repeatedly professed that they were not making war against the German people, but against an imperialistic and irresponsible Government. But the conditions of peace are an obvious contradiction to such assurances.

Speeches of Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Ce-

cil, Winston Churchill, and President Wilson are quoted as proving that the war was not intended to be against the German people. Today, however, the allied powers are facing not an irresponsible German Government, but the German people ruling its own future for itself. This has been utterly disregarded in the draft treaty, and it cannot be imagined what harder terms could have been imposed upon an imperialistic Government.

Again, it was affirmed that the peace to be concluded with Germany was to be a peace of right and not of might. To this effect speeches of M. Painlevé, M. Pichon, Winston Churchill, Mr. Balfour, Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George, and President Wilson are quoted.

But the peace treaty shows that none of these solemn assurances have been kept. The purely German territory of the Sarre is to be separated from the German Empire for at least a fifteen years' period; the line of demarcation for a plebiscite in Schleswig has been traced through purely German districts and goes further than Denmark herself wished.

In the east, Upper Silesia is to be separated from Germany and conveyed to Poland, though it has had no political connection with Poland for 750 years. The Province of Posen and most of West Prussia are to be separated from Germany, though millions of Germans are living there. The Memel district is also to be separated in order to cut off Germany economically from Russia. East Prussia is to be isolated from the empire; the purely German city of Danzig is to become a free city. The settlement of the colonial question is equally unjust. Germany has a natural claim to colonies from her culture and undeniable colonial accomplishments.

Further provisions are equally contrary to a peace of right, such as those insisting that Germany should recognize beforehand treaties which may be entered into by her enemies with the States formerly part of the Russian Empire. The economic provisions for the liquidation of German property within the territories of the Allies, the claim that German citizens must be handed over to courts of the hostile powers, the insistence on Germany acknowledging her responsibility for all damage incurred by the German Government hostile to her, are all contrary to the innate rights of nations.

Again, as to the League of Nations, Germany had repeatedly been promised that the League of Nations would unite the belligerents, conquerors as well as conquered, to secure the world against future disasters. To this effect speeches are quoted by Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Grey, M. Riquet, and President Wilson.

All these utterances made it a matter of course that Germany would from the beginning take part in establishing the League of Nations, but the statute of the League has been established without German help, and

Germany is not even invited to join the League. Germany's importance is independent of her temporary military or political position. If she is not admitted it is impossible to speak of a League of Nations.

The enemies of Germany have repeatedly assured the whole world that they do not aim at the destruction of Germany. Speeches to this effect by Lloyd George, Lord Milner, M. Pichon, and President Wilson are quoted.

But the proposed treaty of peace shows that Germany's position as a world power is to be destroyed in every possible manner. Economic provisions are cited to prove the intended destruction of Germanic economic life, both at home and abroad, even to the detail of the confiscation of her cables.

During the war a new principle has been put forward, the right of self-determination of nations. Speeches proclaiming this principle by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, Lord Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, Signor Orlando, M. Pichon, and President Wilson are quoted or alluded to.

But the treatment of the inhabitants of the Sarre region, and of the district of Eupen, Malmedy, and Moresnet does not comply with such a solemn recognition of this right. The same is true about Alsace-Lorraine, the cession of which without consulting the population would be a new wrong.

If 2,500,000 Germans are to be torn away from their native land against their own will, this cannot be considered compatible with self-determination. Statistics are given with regard to the number of districts in Central and Upper Silesia and Southeast Prussia to prove that the majority of the population is German.

The cession of Danzig and Memel is claimed to be equally contrary to the principles laid down, as is the refusal to allow the German Austrians to unite with Germany, and the compulsion exercised on millions of Germans to remain part of the newly created Czechoslovak State. Even in Germany itself the right of self-determination is denied by the nomination of an alien commission to carry out the conditions of the treaty, surrender of independence which may not be inflicted upon any State.

**CHAPTER III.—Results.** A brief third chapter deals with the results of the draft period. The delegates assert that it involves the utter destruction of German economic life, and leaves the German people to a financial slavery of a kind unknown in history. The delegates point out that this would first make itself felt in the sphere of economics, for Germany's creditors could not obtain the immense sums required from a pauperized country. The elimination of Germany from the world's trade might get rid of a troublesome competitor, but the world, already impoverished by the war, would become infinitely poorer.

The world now requires an international community of labor, to which Germany

agrees. But the proposed treaty is merely a celebration of the last triumph of imperialist and capitalist tendencies. The delegates appeal to the innate right of men and nations; the proposed treaty is incompatible with respect for this innate right; but in the resolve to fulfill her obligations Germany makes the counterproposals which follow.

## PART II.

**CHAPTER I.—The League of Nations.** A lasting peace can only be obtained by way of a League of Nations which guarantees equal rights for the great and small powers. Germany has already submitted its own proposals for such a league, but the delegation is to negotiate on the basis of the allied proposals if Germany is admitted on equal terms as soon as peace has been signed. At the same time clauses must be inserted guaranteeing complete equality in trade conditions and freedom from external interference and preventing economic warfare and exclusion by boycott.

Germany is to agree to the basic idea of army, navy, and air regulations, and especially to the abolition of compulsory military service, in the beginning of a general reduction of armaments and abandonment of compulsory military service. Her own readiness to reduce armaments at once is a proof of her sincerity. But a period of transition must be allowed during which Germany may retain such forces as are required to preserve internal order before reducing her army to the 100,000 limit. On condition that Germany enter the League at once she will dismantle the fortresses in the west and establish a neutral zone, but no special supervision of the process of disarmament, except that of the League, can be admitted, and an extension of time must be granted after discussion on a basis of equality.

Under the provision of a financial arrangement Germany is to surrender not only the surface warships demanded, but all ships of the line. Germany also is to accept all general regulations of the League as regards aviation.

Immediate oral negotiations to settle details are proposed. Germany is to do everything in her power to preserve humanity from another war, and if the nations are disappointed in their hope of this it will not be her fault.

**CHAPTER II. — Territorial Questions.** Chapter II. deals with territorial questions. The first section lays down the principle of the right of self-determination in accordance with President Wilson's four points in his speech of Feb. 11, 1918, and the second point in his speech of July 4, 1918. The German delegations claim that on these principles the cession of Upper Silesia and the Saar district cannot be demanded at all, and that where territorial cession can be acquiesced in it must be preceded in every case by a

plebiscite with universal suffrage under fair conditions administered by a neutral power after evacuation of foreign troops. Further proposals are made as the exchange of enclaves and the filing of frontiers. This section also advocates the principle of protections of national minorities under the League, including such German minorities as may pass under alien sovereignty. These must be afforded the fullest possible cultural autonomy.

The second section deals with Belgium. It claims that the contested territories of Moresnet and Prussian Moresnet have a German majority. Eupen again is purely German, and the Walloons are considerably in a minority in Malmedy. Germany cannot consent in principle to the cession of such indisputably German districts, and in these instances a real plebiscite is not provided for. Germany is prepared to supply wood from the Eupen forests in reparation to Belgium, but cannot consent to the bartering of human beings. The brief third section on Luxembourg declares that the proposed economic and political conditions are one-sided and inadmissible.

The fourth section deals at considerable length with the Saar district. Germany declares that the frontiers have been drawn to include important industrial districts beyond the coal mines, but even the cession of the mining district could not be admitted. A supply of coal can be guaranteed; but the total coal computed to exist in the Saar mines would represent a hundred times the maximum French demands.

The population of the Saar district is peculiarly uniform, and has been attached to Germany for over a thousand years, during which period France has possessed it not more than sixty-eight years. The people today are as German as they were a hundred years ago, when they demanded to be re-united with Germany, but on account of the coal mines they are put under an abnormal and unfavorable form of government, and since the armistice they have begun to learn what they will have to suffer.

All this is to compensate France for coal destroyed in the north; but such a question can be settled only on an economic basis, not by tearing away a nationally undisputed territory and degrading the League of Nations by involving it in the transaction. The German Government declines to make any reparation in the form of punishment, and still more emphatically declines to pass on to individual parts of the population the punishment intended for the whole of the community. The annexation of the Saar district to France would mean the creation of another Alsace-Lorraine, and Germany claims that the whole question must be re-considered.

The fifth section, dealing with Alsace-Lorraine, insists that for the most part this district is German, but admits that according to present conceptions of right an injus-

tice was committed in 1871 when the people were not consulted. Germany has therefore promised reparation, but it would be no reparation to cede Alsace-Lorraine with its immensely increased economic wealth to France at once.

A vote must be taken allowing a choice between union with France, union with Germany as a free State and complete independence. If the population should decide for France, the present conditions must be modified as to the dating back of the cession and the question of nationality; and if France is to take over the results of Germany's effort she must equally take over a proportionate share in the German debt.

A short sixth section declares that Germany has never intended to shift the frontier with Austria by force, but cannot pledge herself to oppose a possible desire of German Austria to be united with her.

A long and important seventh section deals with Germany's eastern frontiers. Germany has agreed to a creation of an independent Polish State, but the terms of the treaty include in it a number of totally German towns and extensive German tracts of land for military or economic reasons, without regard to nationality or to history.

It is claimed that this particularly applies to Upper Silesia, which has had no connection with the Polish Empire since 1163. The wishes of the inhabitants have been clearly expressed by the elections of the Reichstag in 1903 and 1907, when a majority voted for German rather than Polish Deputies. In 1919, when the Poles proclaimed their abstention from voting, 60 per cent. of possible voters voted for German candidates.

With regard to language, the parents of less than 22 per cent. of the school children have declared themselves in favor of education in a non-German language under the new provisions, and the Polish dialect spoken by a considerable part of the Upper Silesians is really a mixed language, and does not represent a mark of nationality.

Upper Silesia owes everything to Germany. Germany cannot dispense with Upper Silesia, while Poland does not really need it. The Upper Silesian coal has supplied almost the whole industry of Eastern Germany, and last year the output was 43,500,000 metric tons. Poland at the same period used about 10,500,000 tons, and the Polish output was nearly 7,000,000. Half the deficit came from Upper Silesia, the remainder from the mines now in Czechoslovakia, but the new Poland could probably supply herself with all of the coal she needs.

German conditions for working-class life are incomparably better than those in Poland, and the cession of Upper Silesia, to which Germany cannot consent, would be as disadvantageous to its own population as to the rest of mankind.

The Province of Posen cannot be regarded as indisputably Polish. Germany is prepared to cede such parts as are truly Polish,

but the proposed frontiers are based on obsolete strategic, not national, considerations.

As to West Prussia, the treaty gives almost the whole of it, and even part of Pomerania, to Poland. West Prussia is claimed as old German territory on which the Polish dominion of 300 years has left little trace. In the district assigned, directly or indirectly, to Poland it is claimed that the population includes about 744,000 Germans against 580,000 Poles and Cassudians, who are not to be identified with the Poles, and the German population is of far greater economic and cultural importance.

Germany cannot consent to the severance of East Prussia, with the German population of a million and a half, from the German Empire. A connecting bridge must absolutely be preserved, but Germany is ready to cede to Poland such West Prussian territories as are indisputably Polish.

The cession of Danzig, a purely German town, is claimed to be in direct opposition to President Wilson's principles. To make it a free city and to surrender certain of its rights to Poland would lead to violent opposition and a continuous state of war in the East. Danzig must remain with the German Empire. But Germany is ready to make Memel, Königsberg, and Danzig free ports, in order to secure to Poland the promised access to the sea, and to grant special transit facilities under specified conditions reciprocally applied.

In the southern parts of East Prussia a plebiscite is demanded; but these districts are not indisputably Polish, and the fact that a non-German language is spoken in certain districts is in itself of no importance.

With regard to Memel and the adjoining districts, even the Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants have never shown any desire to separate from Germany, and the delegates state that in the whole territory there are about 68,000 Germans, as against about 54,000 Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants, who generally also speak German. Memel in particular is claimed as a purely German town, and Germany therefore declines to cede this territory.

If any German territory is ultimately ceded to Poland, Germany must protect its former nationals. This is all the more necessary because the Poles have not so far shown themselves trustworthy protectors of the national and religious rights of minorities.

The Germans further protest against the regulations as to change of nationality, and against the lack of security for German interests in the districts affected; and they demand a commission to assess damages caused by recent Polish disturbances.

In the eighth section the German delegates agree to the holding of a plebiscite in Schleswig, although this point was not mentioned by President Wilson. They protest, however, against the delimitation of the voting districts, and propose another boundary and

a different system of voting and control for the plebiscite.

A short ninth section accepts the dismantling of Heligoland, but insists on any measure necessary for the protection of the coast in the interest of the population.

The tenth section deals with colonies. The delegates maintain that the demand that Germany should relinquish all her rights and claims is an irreconcilable contradiction of Point 5 of President Wilson's address to Congress of Jan. 8, 1918, which promised a free, sincere, and impartial settlement of colonial claims.

Germany's claim to the colonies is based on the fact that she has acquired them lawfully and developed them laboriously. The possession of them will be even more necessary to her in the future than in the past, as, owing to the low rate of exchange, she must obtain raw material from her own colonial possessions. She further requires her colonies as a market, and as settlements for a part of her surplus population.

As a great civilized nation, the German people have the right to co-operate in the joint task of mankind, in which they have already achieved great things. The interests of the colored population of the colonies speak for Germany remaining in possession of them, for the German administration has abolished abuses and introduced peace, order, justice, health, education, and Christianity.

Germany has clearly looked after the interests of the natives. She has refrained from militarizing them, and has adhered to the principle of the open door. The demand that the colonies should be renounced is therefore considered unjustified.

Without modifying this position, the delegates further point out that the conditions under which the cession is demanded are unacceptable in detail, particularly as to State and private property and compensation; and they claim that any mandatory power should pay all expenses incurred by the German Empire, and that the territory should still be responsible for liabilities incurred.

They therefore make a counterproposal that an impartial hearing of the colonial question should take place before a special committee.

Germany claims that though justified in demanding the restoration of her colonies, she is ready to administer them according to the principles of the League of Nations if a league is formed which she can enter at once as a member with equal privileges.

The eleventh section agrees to the renunciation of German rights and privileges regarding Kiau-Chau and Shantung, with certain stipulations as to compensation.

Section 12 deals with Russia and the Russian States. Germany does not claim or propose to interfere with any territory which belonged to the former Russian Empire. The peace of Brest-Litovsk has already been renounced in the armistice.

But Germany cannot recognize any right

on the part of Russia to demand restitution and reparation, and it is able to recognize the relevant treaties and agreements only if their contents are known, and if they do not prove to be unacceptable.

**CHAPTER III.—Rights Outside Europe.** The German delegates complain that according to the draft treaty Germany is to have no rights whatever in Europe outside her own frontiers.

If Germany is to continue to exist, the realization of these terms is impossible. Germany must have the use of shipping, but she is called upon to deliver up her entire overseas fleet with all tonnage which happened to be in enemy harbors at the beginning of the war. Further, the Allies refuse to recognize the decisions of German prize courts or to consider German claims for damages, while German seaports are deliberately weakened by a number of claims, so that a reconstructed German mercantile fleet will encounter totally unfair conditions in traffic.

The German submarine cables are to be taken away. Germany's foreign trade is to be excluded from all kinds of activity. Germany is called upon to violate the Egyptian right to self-determination by recognizing the British protectorate. All concessions and privileges acquired in Russia since August, 1914, are annulled, and many other foreign rights are left in jeopardy.

The Allies have proposed economic and financial provisions which put Germany under a continued disadvantage, and they reserve to themselves the right to take exceptional war measures in regard to German rights, properties, and interests abroad, so that German citizens will be placed in an unbearable state of uncertainty.

The German delegates cannot reconcile such provisions with the principles of impartial justice. They may offer great advantages to rival merchants, but do nothing toward repairing the damage which Germany has undertaken to make good. It is only natural that the German people should now believe that the Allies intend to stamp out German commercial competition. The German delegates lay great stress on the necessity of granting full and reciprocal freedom of action whenever possible, and outline the proposals repeated in the following chapter:

**CHAPTER IV.—Reparation.** Germany accepts the obligation to pay for all damages sustained by the civil populations in the occupied parts of Belgium and France, inasmuch as she brought upon them the terrors of war by a breach of international law through the violation of Belgian neutrality. She opposes reparation to other occupied territories in Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland, as no attack in contradiction to international law was involved.

She voluntarily consents to responsibility for Belgian loans, but claims that the Allies have far exceeded in the categories of damages named in the draft treaty the agreements entered into at the armistice, especially

In holding Germany responsible for losses to civilians outside the occupied territories, to the States themselves, to military persons, and in losses caused by Germany's allies.

Germany contests certain specific responsibilities, particularly as to the costs of an army of occupation, which she considers both unnecessary and uneconomic. She cannot accept the Reparations Commission as outlined, as the giving of such dictatorial powers would mean a renunciation of sovereignty. The commission would be both jury and judge, and the greater part of the reparations could be collected only by force. A German commission is therefore proposed for co-operation with this commission, any disagreement to be finally decided by a mixed court of arbitration under neutral presidency.

Germany is anxious to co-operate in the restoration of France and Belgium, to which end proposals will be shortly made. She recognizes the principle that her taxation shall not be less heavy than any allied State, but predicates her whole attitude, as to reparations, upon the acceptance of her general proposals on the ground that she can bear the heavy burdens imposed only if her territory is not divided up, her industrial as well as her food basis not destroyed, and her overseas connections, colonies, and mercantile fleet retained. Also territories separated from her should pay their proportionate share of the war debt.

Germany agrees to issue, four weeks after peace, Government bonds for 20,000,000,000 marks gold, payable before May 1, 1926, and for the remainder of the reparations to draw up deeds for annual payments without interest, beginning May 1, 1927, the total not to exceed 100,000,000,000 marks, including repayments to Belgium, deliveries of materials during the armistice, and other concessions required. The annuity to be paid each year is to be fixed as a distinct percentage of Germany's revenues, that for the first ten years not to exceed 1,000,000,000 marks annually.

Ton for ton replacement of shipping cannot be accepted, as this is entirely beyond Germany's reduced production power, and would destroy the German economic system. She agrees, nevertheless, to construct an even greater tonnage, and over a longer period than stipulated. The demand for the surrender of fishing vessels is impossible owing to their supreme value for the food supply of Germany, and especially as 146 of the 210 fishing boats are demanded. The surrender of the whole overseas merchant fleet is unacceptable, and not over 10 per cent. of the river tonnage can be given over.

Germany acknowledges the principle of placing her resources directly in the service of reparation, but only in so far as not to infringe on her economic sovereignty. To this end they propose a German commission parallel to the Reparations Commission, the two to work out details in co-operation. The requisition of materials shall be carried out,

however, in such a way as to avoid the disorganization of German economic life; restitutions must be made first of all from free stocks; the time limits in certain instances must be increased.

Germany agrees, if her situation permits, to export to France coal equal to the difference occasioned by the destruction of the French mines, the maximum to be 20,000,000 tons for the first five years and 5,000,000 tons thereafter. In order, however, to expedite the reconstruction of the French mines, Germany asks to be allowed to devote her skill to this work. She is unable to accord the options for coal demanded owing to decreased production, but is willing to agree to a priority on the surplus over the German inland requirements of the next ten years to meet the requirements of France and Belgium. In return, Germany expects adequate supplies of minerals for her smelting work from Lorraine and France. As to coal derivatives, decreased production makes it possible to deliver only a portion of that demanded.

Germany agrees to the option demanded as to dyestuff and chemical drugs, though refusing to accept price control by the commission as involving a surrender of business secrets wholly unwarranted. A continuing option until 1925 is refused as impairing Germany's financial capacity.

In a final paragraph Germany states that shortage of time has made it impossible to give an exhaustive statement, and therefore proposes oral negotiations, with the suggestion that she has in mind ways of reparation possible not considered by the Allies, especially the compensation of owners of destroyed industrial undertakings by the transference to them of proportional shares in similar undertakings in Germany.

**CHAPTER V.—Commercial Policy.** Germany demanded that the economic provisions of the treaty be drawn up with full regard to the perfect equality of rights of Germany with those of other nations. She states that every creditor has the greatest interest in keeping debtors solvent, although Germany's strength has already been greatly impaired through an illegal blockade. She can bear her burdens and regain a position equal to that of other nations only if economic freedom similar to that before the war be granted her.

She therefore insists upon immediate admission to the League of Nations, with the economic advantages proposed in her draft, and suggests an unrestricted grant for a certain number of years of mutual most-favored-nation treatment, instead of the one-sided rights provided in the treaty draft. Similarly she proposes that all nations in the present unsettled state of the world retain full freedom as to tariffs, which would be especially desirable in her case, in order to facilitate reparation.

Questions as to the certificates of vessels,

navigation, unfair competition, industrial, literary, and artistic property, and the international law of traffic, could be settled through the League of Nations, by special agreements or at an international conference.

She agrees not to discriminate against allied goods going by rail or vessel, but rejects interference with her internal railways and traffic organizations.

**CHAPTER VI.—Internal Navigation.** The control of German river systems by international commission, in which Germany in no case is to have a majority, gives an economically unlimited authority over Germany's internal waterways and indirectly over German railways. This would have a decisive influence on the internal regulation of Germany's whole economic life incompatible with Germany's sovereignty, and therefore impossible.

Germany agrees, however, to revise existing conventions to meet new conditions and open up German rivers to the utmost extent to the traffic of all nations, subject to the principle that riparian States alone are to participate in the administration.

As to the Elbe, she agrees to take the utmost account of the needs of Czechoslovakia; for the Rhine, she believes the Central Commission adequate, but is willing to accept negotiations for improvement; for the Danube, she demands representation on both commissions; for the Oder, a purely German river, she states that no commission is necessary; for the Vistula, she is willing to enter into negotiations with Poland, and for Nieman with the other riparian States.

She is unwilling to accept, except after more detailed negotiation, the arrangements placing Strassburg and Kehl under a single administration, or those dealing with the Rhine bridges and works for producing water power. As to the use of Hamburg and Stettin by Czechoslovakia, she is willing to negotiate a separate treaty to this end, and also to enter into negotiations as to how interested States may obtain a proportional share of the river tonnage beyond that surrendered under reparations.

The Kiel Canal can be open to the traffic of all nations under conditions of reciprocity, though the international commission proposal is acceptable only if other straits are similarly treated.

**CHAPTER VII.—Treaties.** While unable in the short time available to check the completeness of the list of multilateral arrangements enumerated in the draft treaty as becoming operative again, Germany believes it preferable in principle for all multilateral treaties in force at the outbreak of war to come into force again at the peace, a later examination to decide which of them should be altered or terminated.

The provision to accept in advance future arrangements made by the Allies as to international postal, telegraphic, and wireless traffic is held incompatible with the dignity of an independent people.

An energetic protest is raised against the provision giving the Allies the exclusive right to decide which of the bilateral treaties in force before the war shall be revised. Instead, each party should be free to inform the other of any provisions which have become inoperative, the settlement to be arrived at by special commissions.

Germany notes that treaties with States not at war with her—as Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Uruguay—are not affected by the rupture of diplomatic relations; refuses to accept the general abrogation of engagements with her former allies, Russia and Rumania, as threatening the ordered relations with those countries, and declines to give the Allies certain advantages secured to her own allies and to neutrals until she has had time to examine them in full, after which special negotiations are proposed.

**CHAPTER VIII.—Prisoners of War and Graves.** Germany requests the release of prisoners of war and interned civilians convicted of a crime or offense committed during their confinement in a hostile State. She also demands a full reciprocity of treatment for such prisoners and for the care of graves, and consents to bear only such expenses for prisoners of war and interned civilians as are incurred after they have left the territory of the enemy power.

**CHAPTER IX.—Penalties.** As to the trial of the ex-Kaiser, Germany cannot recognize the justification of such criminal prosecution, which is not founded upon any legal basis, or agree to the competence of the special tribunal proposed, or the advisability of the surrender to be requested of the Netherlands.

She cannot admit that a German be placed before a special foreign tribunal, to be convicted as a consequence of an exceptional law promulgated by foreign powers only against him on principle, not of right but of politics, and to be punished for an action which was not punishable at the time it was committed. Nor can she consent to a request being addressed to Holland to surrender a German to a foreign power for such unjustifiable proceedings.

As to the surrender of persons accused of violations of the laws and customs of war for trial by a military tribunal, even when proceedings have already been begun by German courts, Germany is forbidden by her Criminal Code to make such extradition of German subjects to foreign Governments.

Germany again declares her preparedness to see that violations of international law are punished with full severity, and suggests that the preliminary question as to whether such an offense has been committed be submitted to an international tribunal of competent neutrals to judge all violations by subjects of all the signatories, Germany to have her share in the formation of this tribunal, and the meting out of punishment to be left to the national courts.

**Guarantees.**—Even in the provisions for their execution, the peace conditions do not

renounce the principle of force. As a guarantee for the fulfilment of conditions which strike such a terrible blow at the life of the German people, an occupation of German territory extending over many years is demanded, obviously to provide security against German aggression and as a guarantee against a refusal by Germany to fulfill her obligations.

No human being, however, could possibly consider that the German people, weakened as they are, could be seduced to the madness of an aggressive war which could only mean utter annihilation. Better guarantees of the fulfillment of the economic and financial obligations could be afforded. Whereas the occupation of the German Rhenish territory strikes a particularly hard blow at Germany, it also renders the payment of reparations most difficult or actually impossible. Large sums would have to be spent by Germany for the upkeep of the army, and the free economic life within Germany would be broken up.

The occupation would deprive the German authorities of the control of the administration, economic life and ways of communication, including the Rhine, and permit the continuance of the right of requisition which is permissible only in war. Moreover, a special customs tariff could be introduced for the occupied territory which might cut off this territory economically from the motherland and bring it under the influence of Belgium and France.

Germany, therefore, expects that the territory which has been occupied by the terms of the armistice shall be evacuated not later than six months after the signing of the Peace Treaty, and that during this time the occupation shall be restricted.

Up to now the world has failed to give due consideration to the great transformation which has taken place in the national life of Germany.

Through the will of her people, Germany has become a democracy and a republic. The new Germany is convinced that it deserves the confidence of its neighbors, and that it may therefore demand its place in the League of Nations, which in itself would constitute the most inviolable guarantee of good faith. However little Germany is in a position to exercise pressure in bringing about a peace which alone can be permanent, it would be remiss in its duty if it did not once more raise its voice in warning against the consequences of a peace of brute force. The fate of Russia, indeed, speaks in unmistakable terms.

The utterly exhausted German people is struggling desperately to preserve the country from the final dissolution of all its constituent elements. The outcome of this battle, which is now being fought with its last remaining strength, will be determined almost exclusively by the form which the treaty of peace assumes.

A permanent peace can never be established upon the oppression and enslavement

of a great nation. Only a return to the immutable principles of morality and civilization and the sanctity of treaties would render it possible for mankind to continue to exist. In the very moment of founding a new Commonwealth based upon liberty and labor the German people turn to those who have been its enemies and demand in the interest of all nations and of all human beings a peace to which it may give its assent in accordance with the dictates of its conscience.

**CHAPTER X.—Labor.** The conditions of peace start from the standpoint that the interests of the working classes are not to be decided by the workers themselves, but are to remain the concern of their Governments. Moreover, since Germany is not immediately accepted as a member of the League of Nations and in the organization of labor, the German people are to be excluded from co-operation in determining the rights and duties upon which the health and welfare of the workers depend, although Germany's labor legislation has become a model for the entire world. The peace conditions destroy all the progress which the German workers have made and submit them to extreme distress and exploitation.

Such a peace would be concluded at the expense of the working classes in all countries. Consequently, the German workers can only agree to a peace which embodies the immediate aims of the international labor movement, and which does not sacrifice all their achievements in favor of alien oppressors.

A solemn protest is, therefore, made against even a temporary exclusion of Germany from the organization of labor. The allied and associated Governments possess no right to inflict damage upon German workers by the exercise of willful and irresponsible power. A peace which does not bestow equal rights upon workingmen would be based upon quicksand. The peace terms lack the first essential for recognition of equal rights of workers of all lands.

Germany once more proposes the summoning of a conference of labor organizations to discuss the Allies' proposals, the German counterproposals, and the Berne resolution of February, the resolution to be embodied in the treaty of peace, and to attain thereby the force of international law. Any other settlement would signify a violation of fundamental human rights which the conscience of the world dare not allow.

**Legal Supplement.**—A supplement contains comments on special legal questions. These are for the most part of a detailed and technical character and hardly lend themselves to summarizing.

The first section deals with the resumption of diplomatic and consular relations. The second section deals at great length with the treatment of private rights, which the delegates claim to be unfair, owing to the lack of reciprocity. The German delegates have no fundamental objection to the pro-

posed clearing house system, but they insist that it must be applied reciprocally and that the private parties concerned should retain full powers of disposition.

A number of detailed criticisms and demands for fuller explanation are appended.

A protest is entered against the alleged anticipations of the signature of the peace treaty by the allied powers in France, Belgium, China, and elsewhere, and among the special criticisms which follow is the claim that the differentiation between the property of former German sovereigns and that of any other German is unjustifiable.

Further protests deal in some detail with the articles in the treaty concerning contracts, mixed courts of arbitration, and the protection of industrial property, with regard to which it is alleged that the restrictions on German industrial property are unbearable owing to their weakening of German economic strength in one of the few fields in which reconstruction might be attempted.

The third section, which is much shorter, deals with the special provisions affecting maritime law and prize courts, which are alleged to be intolerable and unjustifiable.

The fourth and final section deals with criminal law. In this connection the German delegates propose that each power shall grant the nationals of the other party immunity for all criminal acts committed in the course of the war for the benefit of their own country, with the exception of acts infringing the laws and customs of war.

**Financial Supplement.**—Another supplement contains the comments of the Finance Commission of the German delegation. These cover much the same ground as the corresponding section of the main comments, but at greater length.

Two further short notes have been issued by the German delegates, dealing with special points in Section 9 (finance) of the Peace Treaty, chiefly in reference to Turkey and Brazil.

## Allies' Reply to the Counterproposals

### Ultimatum and Covering Letter

THE final reply of the allied and associated powers to the German counterproposals was delivered to the German peace delegation on June 16. In this reply the principles of the original conditions were vigorously upheld as establishing a peace of justice, but certain modifications in detail and many explanations of the effect of the execution of the terms were made.

The reply was in two parts, a general covering letter of about 4,500 words in length, and *seriatim* discussions of the general counterproposals. The letter—from M. Clemenceau, President of the Peace Commission, to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau—is given herewith:

Mr. President: The allied and associated powers have given the most earnest consideration to the observations of the German delegates on the draft of the treaty of peace.

The reply protests against the peace on the grounds that it conflicts with the terms upon which the armistice of the 11th of November, 1918, was signed, and that it is a peace of violence and not of justice. The protest of the German delegation shows that they fail to understand the position in which Germany stands today. They seem to think that Germany has only to "make sacrifices in order to obtain peace," as if this were

but the end of some mere struggle for territory and power. The allied and associated powers therefore feel it necessary to begin their reply by a clear statement of the judgment of the world, which has been forged by practically the whole of civilized mankind.

In the view of the allied and associated powers the war which began on the 1st of August, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of the peoples that any nation calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed. For many years the rulers of Germany, true to the Prussian tradition, strove for a position of dominance in Europe. They were not satisfied with that growing prosperity and influence to which Germany was entitled, and which all other nations were willing to accord her, or the society of free and equal position.

They required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize over a subservient Europe, as they dictated and tyrannized over a subservient Germany. In order to attain their ends they used every channel through which to educate their own subjects in the doctrine that might was right in international affairs. They never ceased to expand German armaments by land and sea, and to propagate the falsehood that it was necessary because Germany's neighbors were jealous of her prosperity and power. She sought to sow hostilities and suspicion instead of friendship between nations.

They developed a system of espionage and intrigue through which they were enabled

to stir up international rebellion and unrest, and even to make secret offensive preparations within the territory of their neighbors, whereby they might when the moment came, strike them down with greater certainty and ease. They kept Europe in a ferment by threats of violence, and when they found that their neighbors were resolved to resist their arrogant will they determined to assert their predominance in Europe by force.

As soon as their preparations were complete, they encouraged a subservient ally to declare war on Serbia at forty-eight hours' notice, a war involving the control of the Balkans which they knew could not be localized and which was bound to unchain a general war. In order to make doubly sure, they refused every attempt at conciliation and conference until it was too late and the world war was inevitable for which they had plotted and for which alone among the nations they were adequately equipped and prepared.

#### INHUMAN METHODS

Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war. She is no less responsible for the savage and inhuman manner in which it was conducted. Though Germany was herself a guarantor of Belgium, the rulers of Germany violated their solemn promise to respect the neutrality of this unoffending people. Not content with this, they deliberately carried out a series of promiscuous shootings and burnings with the sole object of terrifying the inhabitants into submission by the very frightfulness of their action.

They were the first to use poisonous gas, notwithstanding the appalling suffering it entailed. They began the bombing and long distance shelling of towns for no military object, but solely for the purpose of reducing the morale of their opponents by striking at their women and children. They commenced the submarine campaign, with its piratical challenge to international law and its destruction of great numbers of innocent passengers and sailors in midocean, far from succor, at the mercy of the winds and waves, and the yet more ruthless submarine crews.

They drove thousands of men and women and children with brutal savagery into slavery in foreign lands. They allowed barbarities to be practiced against their prisoners of war from which the most uncivilized people would have recoiled.

The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history. The terrible responsibility which lies at her doors can be seen in the fact that not less than 7,000,000 dead lie buried in Europe, while more than 20,000,000 others carry upon them the evidence of wounds and suffering, because Germany saw fit to gratify her lust for tyranny by a resort to war.

The allied and associated powers believe that they will be false to those who have

given their all to save the freedom of the world if they consent to treat the war on any other basis than as a crime against humanity and right.

#### "FORCE TO UTMOST"

The attitude of the allied and associated powers was made perfectly clear to Germany during the war by their principal statesmen. It was defined by President Wilson in his speech of April 6, 1918, and explicitly and categorically accepted by the German people as a principle governing the peace:

Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thoughts and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right, as America conceives it, or dominion, as she conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us; force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

It was set forth clearly in a speech of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, dated Dec. 14, 1917:

There is no security in any land without the certainty of punishment. There is no protection for life, property or money in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception, and until it has been vindicated the peace of the world will always be at the mercy of any nation whose professors have assiduously taught it to believe that no crime is wrong so long as it leads to the aggrandizement and enrichment of the country to which they owe allegiance. There have been many times, in the story of the world, criminal States. We are dealing with one of them now. There will always be criminal States until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive.

It was made clear also in an address of M. Clemenceau in September, 1918:

What do they (the French soldiers) want? What do we ourselves want? To fight, to fight victoriously and unceasingly, until the hour when the enemy shall understand that no compromise is possible between such crime and justice.

Similarly, Signor Orlando, speaking on Oct. 3, 1918, declared:

We shall obtain peace when our enemies recognize that humanity has the right and duty to safeguard itself against a continuance of such causes as have brought about this terrible slaughter, and that the blood of millions of men calls not for vengeance, but for the realization of those high ideals for which it has been so generously shed. Nobody thinks of employing, even by way of legitimate retaliation, methods of brutal violence or of overbearing domination or of suffocation of the freedom of any people—methods and poli-

cies which made the world rise against the Central Powers. But nobody will contend that the moral order can be restored simply because he who abates his iniquitous endeavor declares that he has renounced his aim. Questions intimately affecting the peaceful life of nations, once raised, must obtain the solution which justice requires.

Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for, and says that Germany has been promised. But it must be justice for all.

There must be justice for the dead and wounded, and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved, that Europe might be free from Prussian despotism. There must be justice for the peoples who now stagger under war debts which exceed \$30,000,000,000 that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands and property German savagery has spoliated and destroyed.

### REPARATION

I. This is why the allied and associated powers have insisted as a cardinal feature of the treaty that Germany must undertake to make reparation to the very uttermost of her power, for reparation for wrongs inflicted is of the essence of justice. That is why they insist that those individuals who are most clearly responsible for German aggression and for those acts of barbarism and inhumanity which have disgraced the German conduct of the war must be handed over to justice, which has not been meted out to them at home. That, too, is why Germany must submit for a few years to certain special disabilities and arrangements.

Germany has ruined the industries, the mines, and the machinery of neighboring countries, not during battle, but with the deliberate and calculated purpose of enabling her own industries to seize their markets before their industries could recover from the devastation thus wantonly inflicted upon them. Germany has despoiled her neighbors of everything she could make use of or carry away. Germany has destroyed the shipping of all nations in the high seas, where there was no chance of rescue for the passengers and crews.

It is only justice that restitution should be made, and that these wronged peoples should be safeguarded for a time from the competition of a nation whose industries are intact and have even been fortified by machinery stolen from occupied territories.

If these things are hardships for Germany, they are hardships which Germany has brought upon herself. Somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany or the peoples she has wronged?

Not to do justice to all concerned would only leave the world open to fresh calamities. If the German people themselves, or any other nation, are to be deterred from follow-

ing the footsteps of Prussia; if mankind is to be lifted out of the belief that war for selfish ends is legitimate to any State; if the old era is to be left behind, and nations as well as individuals are to be brought beneath the reign of law, even if there is to be early reconciliation and appeasement, it will be because those responsible for concluding the war have had the courage to see that justice is not deflected for the sake of a convenient peace.

It is said that the German revolution ought to make a difference, and that the German people are not responsible for the policy of the rulers whom they have thrown from power. The allied and associated powers recognize and welcome the change. It represents great hope for peace and a new European order in the future, but it cannot affect the settlement of the war itself.

The German revolution was stayed until the German armies had been defeated in the field and all hope of profiting by a war of conquest had vanished. Throughout the war, as before the war, the German people and their representatives supported the war, voted the credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their Government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of their Government, for at any moment, had they willed it, they could have reversed it.

Had that policy succeeded they would have acclaimed it with the same enthusiasm with which they welcomed the outbreak of the war. They cannot now pretend, having changed their rulers after the war was lost, that it is justice that they should escape the consequences of their deeds.

### THE BASIS OF PEACE

II. The allied and associated powers therefore believe that the peace they have proposed is fundamentally a peace of justice. They are no less certain that it is a peace of right on the terms agreed.

There can be no doubt as to the intentions of the allied and associated powers to base the settlement of Europe on the principle of freeing oppressed peoples and redrawing national boundaries, as far as possible, in accordance with the will of the peoples concerned, while giving to each the facilities of living an independent national and economic life. These intentions were made clear not only in President Wilson's address to the Congress of the 8th of January, 1918, but in the principle of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses which was the agreed basis of the peace. A memorandum on this point is attached to this letter.

Accordingly, the allied and associated powers have provided for the reconstitution of Poland as an independent State, with "free and secure access to the sea." All "territories inhabited by indubitably Polish populations" have been accorded to Poland. All territory inhabited by German majorities, save for a few isolated towns and for colo-

nies established on land recently forcibly expropriated and situated in the midst of indubitably Polish territory, has been left to Germany.

Wherever the will of the people is in doubt a plebiscite has been provided for. The town of Danzig has been constituted as a free city, so that the inhabitants will be autonomous and do not come under Polish rule, and form no part of the Polish State. Poland has been given certain economic rights in Danzig, and the city itself has been severed from Germany because in no other way was it possible to provide for that "free and secure access to the sea" which Germany has promised to concede.

The German counterproposals entirely conflict with the agreed basis of peace. They provide that great majorities of indisputably Polish population shall be kept under German rule. They deny secure access to the sea to a nation of over 20,000,000 people, whose nationals are in the majority all the way to the coast, in order to maintain territorial connection between East and West Prussia, whose trade has always been mainly sea borne.

They cannot, therefore, be accepted by the allied and associated powers.

At the same time, in certain cases, the German note has established a case for rectification, which will be made, and in view of the contention that Upper Silesia, though inhabited by a two-to-one majority of Poles, (1,250,000 to 650,000, 1910 German census,) wishes to remain a part of Germany, they are willing that the question of whether or not Upper Silesia shall form part of Germany or Poland should be determined by the vote of the inhabitants themselves.

#### SARRE REGIME DEFENDED

In regard to the Sarre Basin, the régime proposed by the allied and associated powers is to continue for fifteen years. This arrangement they consider necessary both to the general scheme for reparation and in order that France may have immediate and certain compensation for the wanton destruction of her northern coal mines.

The district has been transferred, not to French sovereignty, but to the control of the Society of the League of Nations. This method has the double advantage that it involves no annexation, while it gives possession of the coal field to France and maintains the economic unity of the district, as important to the interest of the inhabitants. At the end of fifteen years the mixed population, which in the meanwhile will have had control of its own local affairs under the governing supervision of the League of Nations, will have complete freedom to decide whether it wishes union with Germany, union with France, or the continuance of the régime provided for in the treaty.

As to the territories which it is proposed to transfer from Germany to Denmark and

Belgium, some of these were robbed by Prussia by force, and in every case the transfer will only take place as the result of a decision of the inhabitants themselves taken under conditions which will insure complete freedom to vote.

Finally, the allied and associated powers are satisfied that the native inhabitants of the German colonies are strongly opposed to being again brought under Germany's sway; and the record of German rule, the traditions of the German Government, and the use to which these colonies were put as bases from which to prey upon the commerce of the world, make it impossible for the allied and associated powers to return them to Germany or to intrust to her responsibility for the education of their inhabitants.

For these reasons the allied and associated powers are satisfied that their territorial proposals are both in accord with the agreed basis of peace and are necessary to the future peace of Europe. They are, therefore, not prepared to modify them except in the respects laid down.

#### INTERNATIONAL RIVER CONTROL

III.—Arising out of the territorial settlement are the proposals in regard to international control of rivers. It is clearly in accord with the agreed basis of the peace that inland States should have secure access to the sea along rivers which are navigable to their territory. They believe that the arrangements they propose are vital to the free life of the inland States. They do not think that they are any derogation of the rights of the other riparian States.

If viewed according to the discredited doctrine that every State is engaged in a desperate struggle for ascendancy over its neighbors, no doubt such arrangement may be an impediment to the artificial strangling of a rival; but if it be the idea that nations are to co-operate in the ways of commerce and peace, they are natural and right.

The provision for the presence of representatives of important nonriparian States on the commissions is security that the commissions will consider the interests of all. A number of modifications, however, have been made in the original proposals, the details of which will be found in the attached memorandum.

IV.—Under the heading of economic and financial clauses the German delegation appears to have seriously misinterpreted the proposals of the allied and associated powers. There is no intention on the part of the allied and associated powers to strangle Germany or to prevent her from taking her proper place in international trade and commerce.

Provided that she abides by the treaty of peace, and provided also that she abandons those aggressive and exclusive traditions which have been apparent in her business no less than her political methods, the allied

and associated powers intend that Germany shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods, subject to those temporary provisions already mentioned in the interests of the nations ravaged and artificially weakened by Germany's action.

It is their desire that the passions engendered by the war should die as soon as possible, and that all nations should share in the prosperity which comes from the honest supply of mutual needs. They wish that Germany shall enjoy this prosperity like the rest, though most of the fruit of it must necessarily go for many years to come in making reparation to her neighbors for the damage she has done.

In order to make their intentions clear, a number of modifications have been made in the financial and economic clauses of the treaty period, but the principles upon which the treaty is drawn must stand.

V.—The German delegation have greatly misinterpreted the reparation proposals of the treaty. These proposals confine the amounts payable by Germany to what is clearly justifiable under the terms of the armistice in respect of damage caused to the civilian population of the Allies by the aggression of Germany. They do not provide for that interference in the internal life of Germany by the Reparations Commission which is alleged. They are designed to make the payment of that reparation which Germany must make as easy and convenient to both parties as possible, and they will be interpreted in that sense. The allied and associated powers, therefore, are not prepared to modify them.

But they recognize, with the German delegation, the advantage of arriving as soon as possible at the fixed and definite sum which shall be payable by Germany and accepted by the Allies. It is not possible to fix this sum today, for the extent of damage and the cost of repair have not yet been ascertained. They are, therefore, willing to accord to Germany all necessary and reasonable facilities to enable her to survey the devastated and damaged regions and to make proposals thereafter within four months of the signing of the treaty for a settlement of the claims under each of the categories of damage for which she is liable. If within the following two months an agreement can be reached, the exact liability of Germany will have been ascertained. If agreement has not been reached by then, the arrangement as provided in the treaty will be executed.

#### MUST SHOW FITNESS FOR LEAGUE

VI.—The allied and associated powers have given careful consideration to the request of the German delegation that Germany should be admitted to the League of Nations as one of the conditions of peace. They are unable to accede to this request. The German revolution was postponed to the last moment

of the war, and there is as yet no guarantee that it represents a permanent change.

In the present temper of international feeling it is impossible to expect the free nations of the world to sit down immediately in equal association with those by whom they have been so grievously wronged. To attempt this too soon would delay and not hasten that process of appeasement which all desire. But the allied and associated powers believe that if the German people prove by their acts that they intend to fulfill the conditions of the peace, and that they have abandoned forever those aggressive and estranging policies which caused the war, and have now become a people with whom it is possible to live in neighborly good-fellowship, the memories of these past years will speedily fade, and it will be possible at an early date to complete the League of Nations by the admission of Germany thereto.

It is their earnest hope that this may be the case. They believe that the prospects of the world depend upon the close and friendly co-operation of all nations in adjusting international questions and promoting the welfare and progress of mankind, but the early entry of Germany into the League must depend principally upon the action of the German people themselves.

VII.—In the course of its discussion of the economic terms and elsewhere the German delegation has repeated its denunciation of the blockade instituted by the allied and associated powers. The blockade is and always has been a legal and recognized method of war, and its operation has been from time to time adapted to changes in international communications. If the allied and associated powers have imposed upon Germany a blockade of exceptional severity, which throughout they have consistently sought to conform to the principles of international law, it is because of the criminal character of the war initiated by Germany and of the barbarous methods adopted by her in prosecuting it.

The allied and associated powers have not attempted to make a specific answer to all the observations made in the German note. The fact of their omission does not, however, indicate that they are either admitted or open to discussion.

#### LAST WORD OF THE ALLIES

VIII.—In conclusion, the allied and associated powers must make it clear that this letter and the memorandum attached constitute their last word. They have examined the German observations and counterproposals with earnest attention and care. They have, in consequence, made important modifications in the draft treaty, but in its principles they stand by it.

They believe that it is not only a just settlement of the great war, but that it provides the basis upon which the peoples of Europe can live together in friendship and

equality. At the same time it creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent, and whereby the settlement of 1919 itself can be modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise.

It is frankly not based upon a general condonation of the events of the 1914-1918 period. It would not be a peace of justice if it were. But it represents a sincere and deliberate attempt to establish that "reign of law based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind" which was the agreed basis of the peace.

As such, the treaty in its present form must be accepted or rejected. The allied and associated powers therefore require a declaration from the German delegation within five days that they are prepared to sign the treaty as now amended. If they declare within the period that they are prepared to sign the treaty, as it stands, arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of the peace at Versailles.

In default of such a declaration, this communication constitutes the notification provided for in Article 11 of the convention of Feb. 16, 1919, prolonging the armistice signed on Nov. 11, 1918, and again prolonged by the agreement of Dec. 13, 1918, and of Jan. 16, 1919. The said armistice will then terminate and the allied and associated powers will take such steps as they think needful to force their terms.

#### FORMAL REPLY SUMMARIZED

The detailed reply of the allied and associated powers, which followed exactly the scheme of the original conditions of peace, (adopted also by the Germans in the counterproposals,) is given here-with in summarized form:

**PART I.—The League of Nations.** The allied and associated powers, regarding the League of Nations as the basis of the treaty of peace and as bringing into the relations of people an element of progress, which the future will confirm and develop, have never had the intention of indefinitely excluding Germany or any other power from membership. Every country whose Government has proved its stability and its desire to observe its international obligations, particularly those of the Peace Treaty, will be supported in its demand for admission.

In Germany's case the events of the past five years prove the need of a definite test, the length of which will depend on the acts of the German Government, especially toward the treaty. No reason is seen, however, provided these necessary conditions are assured, why Germany should not become a member in the early future.

Inclusion in the covenant of the German proposals regarding economic questions is

considered unnecessary. The allied and associated powers will guarantee protection, under the League, of German minorities in ceded territories, and intend to open negotiations immediately for a general reduction of armaments, as provided in the Covenant, in the expectation that Germany carries out her engagements in this regard.

#### PART II.—(Missing.)

**PART III.—European Political Clauses.** **BELGIUM.**—The territories of Eupen and Malmédy, separated from Belgian territories in 1814, without consideration of the people, have continued in close relations with Belgium, despite a century of Prussianization, and at the same time have made a basis for German militarism by construction of the great camp at Elsenborn, and various strategic railroads directed against Belgium.

The reunion of these territories with Belgium seems justified if petitions to this effect are sufficiently supported by the population under the League of Nations. The German claim for neutralized Moresnet is wholly justified, while the communal woods in Prussian Moresnet are awarded to Belgium in partial compensation for the destruction of Belgian forests.

**SCHLESWIG**—The plebiscite in Northern Schleswig, promised by Prussia by treaty after its seizure in 1864, but never granted, is now assured, on the request of Denmark and the people concerned. Territory as far as the Elder and the Schlei is to be evacuated by the Germans and administered by residents on the spot, with no other pre-occupation but their own welfare, and at the end of fifteen years will be free to choose the sovereignty under which they prefer to continue.

**ALSACE-LORRAINE**—A plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine cannot be admitted, because the whole purpose of the provisions in regard to these provinces has been so far as possible to repair the injustice committed in 1871, as agreed to by Germany, and to restore the situation then prevailing, so far as it is possible after fifty years of suffering.

The will of the inhabitants has been amply attested by the unanimous protests against annexation, voiced by their representatives at Bordeaux and repeated many other times since, even at the cost of their own tranquillity and interests.

There is no intention of applying the general principle of the treaty that States taking over ceded territory should bear part of the public debt of the ceding State and pay for the public property, as it is intended France should recover these provinces without prejudice.

**THE EASTERN FRONTIERS**—Two cardinal principles have been followed in determining the eastern frontiers of Germany. The first is the special obligation to re-establish the Polish Nation in the independence of which it was unjustly deprived more than a century ago. This was one of the greatest wrongs of which history has a record, the

memory and the result of which has for long poisoned the political life of a large part of Europe and which was one of the essential steps by which the military power of Prussia was built up and the whole political life, first of Prussia and then of Germany, perverted.

The second principle is that there shall be included in the restored Poland those districts inhabited by an indisputably Polish population.

**LUXEMBURG**—The German observations on Luxembourg require no answer because of two incontrovertible facts: Germany's violation of her neutrality and Luxembourg's denunciation of the eastern union.

**AUSTRIA**—Germany's declaration that she "has never had and will never have the intention of changing by violence the frontier between Germany and Austria" is noted.

**RUSSIA**—None of the German observations as to Russia require change in the treaty.

**THE SARRE**—No alteration is permissible in the Sarre terms. The allied and associated powers have sought to impose for the destruction of the mines of Northern France a form of reparation which by its exceptional nature will for a limited period be a definite and visible symbol. At the same time they intend, by assuring themselves of the immediate possession of actual security, to escape the risks to which the German memoir itself has drawn attention. The interests of the inhabitants have, however, been most scrupulously safeguarded; they will live for the first time since their forcible annexation to Prussia and Bavaria.

**POSEN AND WEST PRUSSIA**—These two provinces, which were predominantly Polish when the partition took place, might have been restored to Poland almost in their entirety, according to the strict law of historic retribution; but instead there have been left to Germany, in an effort to avoid even the appearance of injustice and despite Germany's brutal colonization policy, all those districts on the west in which there is an undisputed German predominance contiguous to Germany.

Nevertheless, the frontiers have been carefully reconsidered, and certain modifications made in detail. In particular the historical frontier between Pomerania and West Prussia is to be re-established.

**EAST PRUSSIA**—Germany's refusal to accept the separation of East Prussia from the rest of Germany is met by the statement that East Prussia was so separated for many hundreds of years, has been always recognized in Germany as a German colony and not as an original German land. It was not actually included in the political frontiers of Germany until 1866, it is said. It is pointed out that Germany's objection to the holding of a plebiscite in certain parts of East Prussia causes surprise, especially when she admits doubt as to the nationality of the inhabitants and professes assent to the principle of self-determination.

**DANZIG**—The provisions as to Danzig stipulate that the city is to resume the character it held for many centuries when as a Hanseatic city it lay outside the frontiers of Germany. As the population is predominantly German, the city will not be incorporated in Poland, but it is essential that there should be a close connection between them, and that Poland should have the sole seaport available to her kept free from all foreign domination.

**MEMEL**—The reply states that the cession of Memel does not conflict with the principle of nationalism, for while the city itself is in large part German, the district as a whole has always been Lithuanian.

**UPPER SILESIA**—While Upper Silesia was not formerly part of the kingdom of Poland, the majority of its population are Polish in origin and speech.

In deference to the German claims, however, the territory shall be immediately ceded to Poland, but a plebiscite shall be held in order to meet any further criticism. The liquidation of German property there is to be safeguarded and Germany will be allowed to purchase mineral products, including coal, on the same terms as the Poles. Germans transferred to Poland are to be protected as to language, religion and education.

**HELGOLAND**—Provision is made for the protection of the interests of the people of Heligoland and of peaceful navigation and the fishing industry there, in accordance with Germany's demand. The harbor that is to be destroyed does not include that which is used by fishing vessels. The destruction will be solely to prevent the refortification of the island.

**PART IV.—German Rights and Interests Outside Germany.** The reply states that no concessions can be made as to former German colonies and German rights outside of Europe. It is declared that the allied and associated Governments cannot "again abandon 13,000,000 or 14,000,000 persons to a fate from which the war has delivered them." Abuses which have attended German colonial civilization are said to have been admitted by German leaders, and it is felt necessary to guard the security of the colonies and the peace of the world against a military imperialism which sought to establish a basis for interference and intimidation against other powers.

The loss of the colonies will not hinder Germany's normal economic development, it is declared. It is asserted that in 1915 but one-half per cent. of Germany's imports and one-half per cent. of her exports were with her own colonies. It is shown by experience, the reply says, that but a very small proportion of the excess German population would go to the German colonies. The principles of private rights will apply to railroads and mines if Germany can prove their private ownership, with the exception of the case of Kiau-Chau.

The natives of the colonies, which will be administered under mandataries, will not bear any part of the German debt, and the Allies reserve full liberty to determine the conditions under which Germans may establish themselves in colonial regions. They ask that Germany agree in advance to humanitarian conventions as to the traffic in arms, spirits, and the like.

**PART V.—Military, Naval and Aerial Clauses.** The military terms were not drawn solely with the view of making it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression, but also as the first step toward the general limitation of armaments.

As the colossal growth in armaments in the past few decades was, it is asserted, forced upon Europe by Germany, it is right, the reply declares, that the process of limitations should begin with her. The Allies are willing, in the interest of general peace and the welfare of the German people, to allow Germany to reduce her army more gradually than stipulated in the original draft of the treaty.

Within three months she must have reduced her army to a maximum of 200,000 men, and at the end of that three months and every three months thereafter allow allied military experts to fix her military strength for the succeeding three months, the object being to reach the 100,000 stipulated in the original treaty as soon as possible and at least by March 31, 1920.

Fortresses situated in the neutral zone east of the Rhine, not occupied by the powers, will be dismantled in six months, and those in occupied territory will be dismantled when ordered by the allied high command.

The naval terms, while leaving Germany adequate naval forces for protection and police duty, must, the reply states, be accepted unconditionally, the details to be worked out by the Naval Commission after the Peace Treaty is signed. No financial measures are contemplated as regards the surrender of the warships, which must be unconditional.

**PART VI.—Prisoners of War and Graves.** There is nothing to add to the notes of May 20.

**PART VII.—Penalties.** The immediate cause of the war was the decision, deliberately taken, of the statesmen of Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest. Even the German memorandum itself admits that Germany authorized Austria-Hungary to solve the Serbian question on its own initiative and by war. Moreover, she supported Austria's rejection of Serbia's extraordinary concessions, the mobilization of the Austro-Hungarian Army, and the initiation of hostilities, steadily rejected every proposal for conference, and did not urge moderation till all hope of avoiding war had vanished.

The attempt to throw the blame on Russian mobilization is vitiated by the fact that this was the immediate and necessary consequence of the Austrian mobilization and the

declaration of war on Serbia, both authorized by Germany.

But the outbreak of war was no sudden decision taken in a difficult crisis. It was the logical outcome of a policy of domination, aggression, and war pursued by Germany for decades under the inspiration of the Prussian system.

Hypnotized by Bismarck's spirit of blood and iron, Germany was not content with a great and influential place in the world, but in the lust for supreme and autocratic power set about sowing suspicion and discord among the nations, conspiring with elements of unrest in every land, steadily increasing armaments, and mobilizing the universities, press, pulpit, and governmental authority to indoctrinate the gospel of hatred and force. The essential truth of these charges is admitted by the Germans themselves through their revolution.

The war was a crime deliberately plotted against the life and liberties of the people of Europe. It has brought death and mutilation to millions. Starvation, unemployment, and disease stalk across the continent from end to end, and for decades its people will groan under its burdens and disorganization. Punishment of those responsible for bringing on these calamities is essential on the score of justice and as a deterrent to others who may be tempted to follow their example.

The powers cannot intrust the trial of those responsible to those who have been their accomplices. As almost the whole world has banded together to check Germany, the tribunals established will present the deliberate judgment of the greater part of the civilized world. There can be no question of admitting the right of jurisdiction of representatives of countries which took no part in the war.

The allied and associated powers will stand by the verdict of history for the impartiality and justice with which the accused will be tried. The trial of the ex-Kaiser is judicial only in form and not in substance, as he has been arraigned as a matter of high international policy for a supreme offense against international morality, the sanctity of treaties, and the essential rules of justice. Judicial forms and procedure and a regularly constituted tribunal have been set up both to insure the accused full rights to defense and to give the judgment the most solemn judicial character.

The allied and associated powers are prepared to submit a final list of those who must be handed over to justice within one month of the signing of peace.

**PART VIII.—Reparation.** The allied and associated powers refuse to enter into a discussion of the principles underlying the reparations clauses, which have been drawn up with scrupulous regard for the correspondence leading up to the armistice. So far, however, as the execution of these principles goes, certain observations are made, espe-

cially as the German reply presents a view so distorted and inexact as to raise a doubt if the clauses were calmly or carefully examined.

The vast extent and manifold character of the war damage has created a problem of extraordinary magnitude and complexity, only to be solved by a continuing body, limited in personnel and invested with broad powers. The Reparations Commission so established is instructed to exercise its powers in such a way as to insure in the interests of all as early and complete a discharge by Germany of her reparations obligations as is consistent with the true maintenance of the social, economic, and financial structure of a Germany earnestly striving to repair the damage she has caused.

The commission is not an engine of oppression or a device for interfering with Germany's sovereignty. It has no forces; no executive powers within Germany; no control of domestic legislation or of the educational or other systems. Its business is to fix what is to be paid, satisfy itself that Germany can pay, and report to its Governments in case Germany does not pay.

If Germany raises the money required in her own way, the commission cannot order that it be raised in some other way. It cannot prescribe or enforce taxes or dictate the character of the German budget, but may examine the latter to see if any modification in the conditions is desirable, probably in Germany's interest, and to be assured that German taxation is at least as heavy as the heaviest allied taxation. Not only are the provisions not incompatible with the creation by Germany of a commission to represent it in dealings with the Reparations Commission and for such co-operation as may be necessary, but it is greatly to be desired that she will take exactly that step.

The powers are willing that within four months of the signature of the treaty Germany may submit any proposals she may choose to make. In particular, she may offer a lump sum for all or part of her liability, undertake to reconstruct all or part of a damaged district, offer labor, technical service or materials for reconstruction, or, in short, suggest any feasible plan to simplify the assessment of damage, eliminate any question from the scope of the inquiry, promote the performance of the work or accelerate the definition of the ultimate amount to be paid.

Germany must, however, negotiate directly with the powers concerned before making the proposals, submit them in unambiguous form and accept the reparations clauses as matters beyond dispute. No arguments or appeals directed to any alteration will be entertained.

Within two months thereafter the allied and associated powers will return their answers to any such proposals, which they agree to consider seriously and fairly, for the reason that no one would be better

pleased than they at a speedy and practical settlement. The early production of German evidence would greatly accelerate the decisions, for after fifteen months of occupation of the damaged territories, her information must be extensive and exact. The problem is largely one of statistics, of which the powers have received but one side.

The German reply made no definite offer as to reparations, but gave only vague expressions of willingness to do something undefined. The sum of 100,000,000,000 marks was indeed mentioned to give the impression of an extensive offer, which upon examination it proves not to be. No interest was to be paid and until 1928 there would be no substantial payment, after which would come a series of undefined installments running over nearly half a century.

The allied and associated powers make the declaration, however, that as the resumption of German industry is an interest of theirs as well as of Germany, they will not withhold from Germany commercial facilities necessary to this resumption, but on the other hand will, subject to conditions which cannot be laid down in advance and to the special economic situation created for them by German aggression, afford to Germany facilities for food supplies, raw materials, and overseas transport for the common good.

Meanwhile, the treaty must be signed. The burdens of Germany undoubtedly are heavy, but they are imposed under conditions of justice by peoples whose social well being and economic prosperity have been gravely impaired by wrongs which it is beyond the utmost power of Germany to repair.

**PART IX.—Finance.** While Germany as the author of the war must bear its just consequences, her essential interests have been spared as far as possible. Reparation must be prior to the settlement of all other German public debts, with such exceptions as the commission may approve to protect German credit. Payment for food may also be a first charge and gold may be exported on approval.

Military occupation as an essential guarantee of peace must be paid for by Germany in accordance with custom, notably that set by her in 1871. War material surrendered after the armistice cannot be credited against reparations.

Liberated territories will bear their portion of the pre-war debts, but cannot be asked to assume any part of the war debt itself. After the events of the war, the powers have the right to demand that Germany be no longer intimately involved in their financial or economic life or in that of Germany's former allies or Russia. As the greater part of Germany's foreign securities must be liquidated, protection of German holders will no longer justify German participation in international organizations.

The German proposal that reparations payments be made in the currency of the injured

country cannot be accepted, as the choice may be left to the latter, in view of probable heavy purchases abroad to rebuild their ruins.

The right is reserved to demand of Germany also her credits in Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

**PART X.—Economic Clauses.** The principles announced by President Wilson and embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations as to equality of trade conditions will be brought into effect when the world returns to normal conditions, but in the meantime a transitory régime is essential to save certain allied States from a position of economic inferiority because of the ravaging of their territories and the contrasting conditions of German industries. Reciprocity is impossible at present, for with it Germany would reap the fruits of her criminal acts.

A general indiscriminate reapplication of multilateral and bilateral treaties cannot be accepted, though as many have been restored as possible. Germany is not required to accept the text of postal and telegraphic arrangements, but rather not to oppose their conclusion. Bilateral treaties will not be split up in such a way as to place all the obligations on one side and the rights on the other.

Consular relations are not reciprocally established, owing to the war activity of German Consuls. Private property of Germans abroad may justly be used to meet reparation charges, as Germany's resources are wholly inadequate and because in the war the allied powers themselves have had to take over foreign investments of their nationals to meet foreign obligations, giving their own domestic obligations in return.

The property of German institutions for research and education cannot be immune, in the light of their past activities.

[Questions of clearing houses, contracts, prescriptions, judgments, and the like are gone into in great detail.]

**PART XI.—Aerial Navigation.** The German proposals have not been accepted.

**PART XII.—Ports and Waterways.** The German objections are too general to admit of detailed reply, but seem to rest on the principle that while the rules of transit and international control are wise and practical they constitute an infringement of her sovereignty so long as they are not reciprocal. Until, however, the transition period is passed and general conventions can be laid down as integral parts of the status of the League of Nations, it has appeared essential to make provisions so that an enemy State may not by obstructive procedure prevent their being put into force.

Provision is made formally for the extension of these provisions and for the ultimate grant of reciprocity, but only after five years, unless the League of Nations decides to prolong the period.

No attempt has been made to prevent the

legitimate use by Germany of her economic resources, but rather to secure freedom of transit for young, landlocked States. The commissions established function not alone over German territory but over at least one allied country as well. Delegates of non-riparian States are included, both to represent the general interest and to act as a check on the predominant riparian State.

As a guarantee of justice the Allies agree to the strengthening of the clauses assuring freedom of transit across West Prussia to Germany, the increase of Germany's representation on the Oder from one to three, the representation of Germany on the commission to establish a permanent status for the Danube, the submission of the future Rhine-Danube Canal to the general régime of international waterways and the suppression of the clauses as to the constructing of railroads through Germany and of the Kiel Canal Commission.

**PART XIII.—Labor.** The two notes already sent in reply to the German notes cover this subject. With reference to the protection of labor in ceded territories, the treaty already makes provision for conventions between Germany and the States concerned. Further provisions have been made, however, for carrying out this intention by inserting a plan for reference to imperial technical commissions of all cases in which an early settlement is not reached by direct negotiation.

**PART XIV.—Guarantees.** The German delegation states that only the return to the fundamental and immutable principles of morality and civilization can permit humanity to continue to live. After four and a half years of a war provoked by Germany's repudiation of these principles, the powers can only repeat President Wilson's words that "the reason why peace must be guaranteed is that one of the parties to that peace has proved that his promises are not worthy of faith."

**Military Occupation.** Armed forces of the Allies will continue in occupation of German territory as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty.

There will be constituted a civilian body styled the Interallied Rhineland High Commission, consisting of four members, representing Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States. It shall have executive powers, and its members shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The civilian administration shall remain in the hands of the German authorities under German law, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission to modify this. The Allies retain the right to requisition in kind and to demand services. Germany will be responsible for the expenses of occupation and of the High Commission.

Germany will undertake to place at the disposal of the allied troops such military establishments and accommodation as are required. The transport, telegraphic, and postal personnel will obey orders given on be-

half of the Commander in Chief of the allied armies for military purposes, according to detailed provisions.

The High Commission will have the power, whenever they think it necessary, to declare a state of siege in any part or all the territory concerned.

#### PLANS FOR BLOCKADE

By May 27 the Allied Blockade Council at Paris had completed all arrangements for again putting the blockade of Germany in force in case the German delegates refused to sign the treaty. Complete plans had been worked out for the fullest co-operation between the military and economic forces which were to be employed in case of necessity.

Immediately following failure of the Germans to sign the treaty, putting the allied and associated Governments to the necessity of acting, Germany was to receive seventy-two hours' notice of the termination of the armistice. On the expiration of that period the British, French, and Americans were to advance into Germany. Simultaneously the blockade was to be enforced as tightly as possible.

All the arrangements perfected during the war to protect as far as possible the interests of neutral nations, while preventing the entry of food or raw materials into Germany, were again to be brought into play and Germany was to find herself cut off from the rest of the world.

#### NEUTRALS REJECT BLOCKADE

It was learned on May 22 that the allied Governments had addressed a question to the Swiss Government asking whether it would be willing and ready to take measures for a severer blockade against Germany should circumstances require it. This step was preparatory to action should Germany refuse to sign the treaty. The proposal was commented on widely in the press as an infringement of the independence of small countries. Geneva dispatches of May 29 reported that a negative reply had been formulated. A similar refusal was subsequently sent by Holland and by Denmark, Norway and Sweden, on the ground that such a blockade could not be made effective without a violation of their neutrality.

All plans were completed to evacuate the American base at Rotterdam within seventy hours should the armistice be broken off. According to international law, any American troops found in neutral Holland seventy hours after the resumption of hostilities would be interned by the Dutch. In this eventuality all work of any nature would immediately be suspended.

Routes for crossing the frontier at various points had already been arranged, as well as the disposal of stores, engineering and building material.

#### ALLIED ARMY READY

Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett, commander of the Army of Occupation, and Major Gen. John Hines, commander of the 3d Corps, who were on their way to London, were recalled to Coblenz on May 21 by orders from American General Headquarters. The recall of the two Generals was part of the new program for the American Army if the Germans did not accept the Peace Treaty.

The composite regiment of the Third Army, organized for participation in the Empire Day festivities in London, in which Generals Liggett and Hines were also to take part, was held in Coblenz because of the new turn in the peace situation.

Nine hundred motor trucks began to move Tuesday midnight from west of the Rhine to the bridgehead area, the purpose being to distribute them to various points of advantage among the troops holding the zone east of the Rhine for use should occasion arise for the Americans to start an advance. The movement of the trucks continued throughout Wednesday and most of Wednesday night, (May 21-22,) and was the topic of conversation among the German civilians in Coblenz. Many civilians complained that the trucks, as they rumbled across the Rhine bridges at night, disturbed their sleep.

General Sir William Robertson, commander of the British troops in occupied Germany, visited American headquarters at Coblenz on May 21. It was said that the allied troops everywhere were ready for an immediate advance into Germany should it become necessary. General

Fayolle, group commander of two French armies of occupation, arrived at Coblenz on May 26 for a hurried conference with General Liggett regarding the emergency plans of the Allies. The activity among the troops within the bridgehead area was more marked during these days than at any time since they had reached the Rhine.

Final orders from Marshal Foch for the concentration of troops preparatory to advancing further into Germany were received at Coblenz on June 17; similar orders were sent to all the allied forces on German soil. These orders were made contingent on the Germans refusing to sign the revised Peace Treaty. General Liggett, after an inspection trip of the bridgehead outposts and the headquarters of divisions along the Rhine, announced that the American forces were ready to move ahead at a moment's no-

tice, with the artillery and supply trains following close upon the heels of the infantry.

An elaborate and thoroughly perfected plan of military operation in case of invasion of Germany, as semi-officially announced at Coblenz on June 18, had been drawn up by the allied Supreme War Council.

According to this plan, the armistice would end on Monday, June 23. At the moment of the expiration the various allied armies were to move forward in an easterly direction between the junction of the Rhine and Lippe Rivers on the north and Mannheim on the south. A three-day advance to a line approximately 130 miles east of the Rhine was contemplated. Further details were reserved pending the reply of Germany to the terms of the revised Peace Treaty.

## Germany Stirred by the Treaty

### Agitation and Unrest Throughout the Nation—The Rhine Fiasco

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1919.]

**G**ERMANY throughout this period was in a state of depression and suppressed excitement. There were voices both for and against signing the treaty. After observing conditions in Berlin the German Chancellor of Legation returned to Versailles on May 18 and expressed his conclusion in these words:

You seem to fear that we will not sign the Peace Treaty, but we will sign it because, if we were to go back without concluding peace, we would be massacred on reaching Berlin. The people hunger for peace and are growing impatient. The question that is causing us most anxiety is that of commercial openings, without which we could not carry out, despite all our good will, the clauses of the treaty.

In contrast with this, the conference of German political leaders and German peace delegates at Spa on Sunday, May 18, agreed that the peace terms were unacceptable, according to a German

semi-official statement, and that Germany must leave no stone unturned in an attempt "to find a practicable basis of peace which takes into account our opponents' justifiable demands and those capable of being borne and carried out by the German people."

On the same date President Ebert, in addressing a demonstration in Berlin, reiterated his previously expressed assertion that Germany would "never sign the peace terms." The demonstration was held in the Lustgarten and was attended by a great crowd. President Ebert described the peace terms as "the product of the enemy's revengeful hysteria" and added:

Foreign countries will not permit the proscription of Germany. They will raise their voices with us and that this peace of enslavement, which we will never sign, shall not come to pass.

An important meeting to consider the

peace situation was held in Berlin Friday, May 16. It was attended by all the members of the German Cabinet, representatives of the various political parties and a number of Generals. Chancellor Scheidemann referred to the possibility of an alliance with the Russian Bolshevik Government, but without advising it. Field Marshal von Hindenburg was reported to have told the meeting that all resistance was impossible.

Berlin dispatches received in Paris indicated that German opposition to the Peace Treaty centred chiefly about the Interallied Commission on Reparations, which the treaty created for the purpose of collecting indemnities. The Germans, it was said, regarded this provision as an infringement of their sovereignty, and declared that submission to a foreign commission with such broad powers would mean nothing but slavery.

#### OFFICIAL GERMAN STATEMENT

"Germany declines to sign the peace terms laid before it because they spell the economic destruction, political dishonor, and moral degradation of the entire German Nation, not only for the present, but also for still unborn generations," said a statement authorized by the Cabinet on May 20 through The Associated Press. The statement continued as follows:

Germany has not only a moral right to compliance with the general promises made it, but a firmly grounded, definite, clearly defined claim, according to the basic rules of international law, on all the Entente powers, and especially on the United States. A specific recognition of the right of Germany and of the German peoples to a peace of right, justice, and reconciliation, instead of the paraded song of hate which was written at Versailles, is contained in the note of the American Secretary of State Lansing of Nov. 5, 1918.

In it the Secretary of State notified the Swiss Minister in Washington unconditionally that the established basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points should be authoritative for the peace conditions. Secretary Lansing announced further that the Entente Governments, after careful consideration, were also prepared to recognize the conditions set up by President Wilson as the basis for the conclusion of peace.

The declaration of rights emanating from these specific declarations of all the Entente powers and the United States constitutes Germany's sole asset in the general moral

breakdown of all international politics which has found unsurpassable expression in the Versailles terms.

Germany answers them with its clearly juristic right in international law. Toward the politico-moral bankruptcy of Versailles the German Nation stands as a creditor with undeniable rights, and it is not in a position to yield on this chief point. Germany concluded peace on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which all America had made its own, and all America, every individual, is responsible for the fulfillment of its claims.

It is not the German people's business to indicate how its rights shall be realized by the Fourteen Points, or especially by the note of Secretary Lansing. That, rather, is the task of those who constructed the Fourteen Points and brought them to acceptance, thereby inducing Germany to lay down her weapons. We do not believe that President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, and the American people can take other than this German standpoint if they do not wish to do that which President Wilson in his message of Dec. 4, 1917, condemned categorically when he said:

We would dishonor our own cause if we treated Germany any other than justly and in a nonpartisan manner and did not insist upon justice toward all, no matter how the war ended. We demand nothing which we are not ready ourselves to admit.

And the German people demand nothing more than that which President Wilson announced in this declaration. We demand nothing more than that Americans place the Fourteen Points opposite the peace terms. We do not believe that any one in the United States will then have the courage to claim that there can be found in the peace conditions one single trace left of President Wilson's program.

And here begins America's definite duty to step in. America either must put its Fourteen Points through, or it must declare that it is unable to do so, or that it does not want to do so, so that in no case may the world be led to believe that America desires to have the peace conditions count as President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

That is our demand, to which we cling, and we cannot imagine what argument from the American side would be effective against it.

In President Wilson's message to Congress of Dec. 4, 1917, there is no passage in textual agreement with the foregoing quotation in the German Cabinet statement.

#### PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION

A gigantic demonstration occurred in Berlin on May 21, when hundreds of thousands paraded the streets demanding

that the Government sign the peace terms at once. About 200,000 people were packed in the Lustgarten, in front of the old Royal Palace, where the Independent Socialists held their principal meeting. Unter den Linden and all the streets running into the Lustgarten were packed with excited people, whose one cry was "Sign the peace terms! Sign the peace terms!" Haase and many Independent Socialists spoke, declaring that the only hope for Germany was to sign, and they were madly cheered.

The Government tried to hold a meeting in Wilhelmpfplatz against signing peace, but great parades of Independent Socialists marched down Wilhelmstrasse singing the "Internationale" and swept the pro-Government crowd entirely away. The Socialists remained in front of the official residence of Noske and the offices of the Ebert Government, singing and shouting "Sign the peace! Down with Ebert! Down with Noske and Scheidemann! Let us have peace! We want bread, not bullets!"

The following day there were riots and demonstrations in Mannheim, whose inhabitants, alarmed by their belief that Germany would not sign the treaty, and that the Allies would occupy the city, stormed the municipal savings bank.

After knowledge of the terms of the revised Peace Treaty was diffused, the excitement in Germany again surged forth. The familiar outcry that the peace terms, even in their modified form, meant death to Germany, was raised again. A strong countercurrent came to the surface on June 19 when great throngs in Berlin paraded, demanding that the peace be signed. A movement to withdraw German war material from territory beyond the occupied areas began early in May. This movement continued through the early weeks of June. The withdrawal of German troops from sectors opposite the Allies' bridgeheads was also reported. Beyond the Coblenz bridgehead war materials had been withdrawn a distance of sixty miles. All military property in Elberfeld, Dortmund, Essen, and neighboring towns was taken to Senne, a great military depot near Paderborn. Many other measures of withdrawal were pro-

ceeding. Thus matters stood while Germany debated the fateful question: To sign or not to sign.

Finally the Scheidemann Government resigned in the early hours of June 20, preparatory to the formation of a Government that would be willing to take the responsibility of signing the treaty.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS

Advices of May 18 had given notice that the most ominous feature of the general situation was the fighting temper of the German population in the eastern provinces. Reports indicated a determination to resist by force Polish occupation of the eastern territories, particularly in West Prussia and Silesia, "with or without the advice and consent of the Government." General Otto von Below, commander of the 17th Corps in Danzig, issued a stirring proclamation calling for volunteers to enlist in eastern border defense. General von Below added: "The hour of fate has struck for our nation and our homes. Let the province take heed that the great hour does not find a generation of weaklings." A Berne message of the 24th stated that a state of siege had been proclaimed in West Prussia.

An example of how the German National Citizens' Council was carrying on its campaign of organizing the property-owning classes into a solid body against Spartacus and Bolshevik efforts to establish their régime in the Fatherland was afforded by a two-column advertisement in the Frankfurter Zeitung. The appeal was signed by Dr. Wessel for the executive body. He reminded his readers of the successes obtained at Halle, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Gotha, and Greiz, where the bourgeoisie organized counterstrikes and advised the use of arms in case of need. Dr. Wessel concluded:

Therefore, organize Citizens' Councils at once, where they do not already exist, with the assistance and co-operation of the leading personages of all classes and professions. They wish, and ought, to be the defenders of our economic and cultural power, and, above all, just at present, to assure absolutely to the bourgeoisie the equal rights that certainly are due to it, as against a one-sided legal-

ization of the Workers' Council. Ask for information and support from the National Citizens' Council, Berlin NW, 7, Charlottenstrasse 44-45. Telephone: Central Office 2863 and 2864.

See to it that the local party leaders show themselves above all party differences in this moment of danger, and get together as representatives of the entire citizenry! We have really had enough words; only acts banish the danger and win the victory!

Preparedness is everything!

A Geneva dispatch of May 24 announced that Field Marshal von Hindenburg had formally appealed to the Swiss Government for permission to reside in Switzerland as a simple citizen in a villa recently purchased by him on the shore of Lake Constance. As part of his plea the Field Marshal added he had been granted only fourteen days' holiday since the war began. The dispatch added that, as von Hindenburg was a known monarchist, the Swiss authorities felt somewhat embarrassed, but that if sufficient guarantees were given against intrigue the petition would likely be granted.

In reference to the escape of Lieutenant Kurt Vogel, sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the Liebknecht-Luxemburg court-martial, a Berne message of May 28 stated that he was assisted by Lieutenant Lindermann. Both officers fled to Holland. The Independent Socialist organ, *Die Freiheit*, charged that the escape was the work of a camarilla of officers who refused to obey the orders of Comrade Noske (Minister of Defense) when such orders displeased them. On May 31 General Noske, as a precautionary means against Spartacan tactics, again resorted to the provisions of martial law by prohibiting anti-treaty demonstrations in public or private unless specific permission were granted. General Noske was reported to have said he considered that the purposes of the demonstrators had been "abundantly accomplished."

The court-martial trial of those accused of complicity in the deaths of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg resulted in the conviction of three persons. The Hussar soldier Runge was sentenced to two years in prison and four years' deprivation of civil rights, Lieutenant Kurt Vogel to two years in

prison and four years under arrest, with dismissal from the service, and Lieutenant Rittman to six weeks under arrest. The others accused were acquitted and discharged.

In a telegram from Danzig of June 1 George Renwick wrote that he found the east of Germany deeply stirred; in Silesia "that wrath bubbled at the brim. It was the wrath of a people who had long provided the best regiments for Germany. It had made them throw away their red flags. It had driven them back from socialism to nationalism again." In a tour through Danzig and in talking with the citizens Mr. Renwick characterized their prevailing sentiment toward the fate of the proud Hanseatic city under the Peace Treaty "as the wrath of ages cloistered in stone and the heart." Everywhere was a stern determination not to abide by such terms. "It is not yet war," he concluded, "but it is something very like it. Here, unless something is done, will be the next war, and you may as well know it."

#### PROCLAMATION OF A RHINE REPUBLIC

A Mayence telegram of June 1 announced that the sometime heralded Rhine Republic was proclaimed in various Rhine cities. The new Government, headed by Dr. Dorten, was installed provisionally at Wiesbaden. Dr. Dorten addressed messages to the different Governments and the Peace Conference. In two telegrams dispatched to the latter Dr. Dorten stated that the delegates of the Rhenish Republic had assembled at Wiesbaden. In the first he added: "They do not propose to shirk the obligations connected with the work of restoration in Belgium and Northern France. They implore the protection of the French authorities against their opponents, and beg the privilege of coming to Paris for negotiations." The second telegram read as follows: "Everything is quiet in Mayence. The majority of the population is with us."

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Mayence and Wiesbaden had begun a twenty-four-hour strike of protest against the attempt to establish an in-

dependent palatinate republic; pro-German palatinates at Mannheim declared a general strike, and the inhabitants of the palatinate, notwithstanding French threats of court-martial, were tearing down posters proclaiming the republic. At Coblenz Americans were credited with disbelief that the Germans generally desired the republic, and attributed the movement to a handful of intriguers, but they were unwilling to permit the American area to be used as a battle-ground for rival factions. Hence any action of the Berlin Government would be regarded as an invasion of the rights of the occupying army, which was in complete control of affairs.

The movement had the support and encouragement of the French military authorities, but popular feeling was hostile and it came to an ignominious end on June 8, when Dr. Dörten and his "Ministers" were ejected from the Government buildings on the previous day. An excited crowd gathered to the scene, and Minister of Instruction Kraener was taken to a hospital suffering from injuries. Dr. Dörten, however, maintained that the republic still lived, and that he and his associates would be recalled to power as soon as sentiment had crystallized in the Rhineland. Meantime, Dr. Dörten's "Government" established headquarters in his law offices. A Versailles message of June 13 informed that Herr von Winterstein, President of the palatinate, and two fellow-officials had arrived and conferred with French officers.

Difficulties with the repatriation of some 500,000 Russian prisoners of war, owing to lack of transportation and so forth, led to conflicts with the German authorities in which several Russian prisoners were killed and wounded. On the reverse side of this war problem it was stated that the repatriation of German prisoners in Russia was practically complete, excepting a few thousands who had entered the Russian Red Guard or the volunteer international Russian regiments. Among minor items of note an organized robbery of the famous green vaults of Dresden was reported. A number of priceless diamonds were said to have been replaced with imitation stones.

Levine Nissen, the Bolshevik agitator and leader of the Munich Communist Soviet, was tried and convicted on June 4 for his part in the civil war in Bavaria. Upon his appeal for clemency being rejected, he was executed at Stadelheim, outside the capital. This seemed to be the signal for a renewed outbreak of disorder. General strikes against the execution took place in Munich and Nuremberg, and were extended to Fürth. Bavarian occupational troops were ordered to prepare for any emergency. On the night of the 6th intermittent machine-gun firing was heard in Munich. A strike at Leipsic was followed by street fighting. At 3 o'clock June 5 the street cars in Berlin stopped running in response to the declaration of a twenty-four-hour strike by the Greater Berlin Soviet as a mark of sympathy with the fate of Levine Nissen. Only two morning newspapers appeared, and these in reduced form. The Government, in anticipation of serious trouble, concentrated 50,000 troops in Berlin and its vicinity. On the same date George Renwick cabled from Berlin that "Germany seemed to be nearer the abyss than ever," and that the domestic situation had thrown everything else into the shade. Mr. Renwick pointed to the drag on the Socialist Government wheels by the bourgeoisie and the increasing influence of the military as political dangers which might, at any moment, hurl the Government out of office.

Reports of growing hostility between American soldiers and German civilians came to hand in a Coblenz message of the 10th. In clashes which had taken place one American soldier was killed and both soldiers and civilians wounded. The frequency of these encounters caused General Liggett, commander of the Third Army, much anxiety, and precautions were taken to stop such outbreaks. Berlin advices of the 11th stated that a movement had been instigated in Schleswig-Holstein aiming at the establishment of an independent republic. It was proposed to separate from Prussia and cede no territory to Denmark.

Communist demonstrations at the funeral of Rosa Luxemburg on the 13th

were conducted without disorder. The attempt of the Greater Berlin Soviet to force a strike for the occasion was unsuccessful. From Weimar it was reported that at the convention of the Majority Socialist Party on the 12th a resolution was adopted expressing indignation at the "peace of violence," and that from all indications the position of the Government was strengthened. A message from Berlin of the 13th stated that, in view of information in possession of General Noske, the Independents and Communists had organized for a

widespread uprising, the streets were patrolled day and night by armored cars and all strategic points occupied by the military.

A strike broke out in the printing trades in Berlin on June 12, and no daily newspapers were issued in that city for four days. It was during this period that the Peace Treaty ultimatum was delivered to the German delegation, but its contents could not be made public in the newspapers until June 17. The reception of the treaty is described on other pages of this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*.

## Austria and the Peace Treaty

### The Ceremony of Its Delivery to the Austrians at St. Germain—Chancellor Renner's Address

THE TREATY OF PEACE of the allied and associated Governments with Austria was handed to the Austrian Peace Delegation, headed by Dr. Karl Renner, on June 2, 1919, in the Château François I., at St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris. The document, as it was delivered, was not in complete form, as some clauses relating to finance and reparations and certain other problems had been held in reserve. The ceremony of presentation of the allied terms, which, as expected, were severe, was very different from that which occurred at Versailles. The whole spirit of arrogance exhibited by von Brockdorff-Rantzau in his answer to the speech of M. Clemenceau, during which he remained seated, and which, couched in German, sought to prove that the Allies were equally guilty with Germany in beginning the world war, was absent from the demeanor and the words alike of Dr. Karl Renner in receiving the Austrian treaty. From the time of the arrival of the Austrian peace delegation at St. Germain, the allied authorities had been favorably impressed by the quiet sincerity and tactfulness of Dr. Renner. At the ceremony Dr. Renner rose, in making his reply, which was expressed in French, and which made a favorable im-

pression on the allied delegates. The day following the ceremony Dr. Renner left for Vienna to lay the terms of the Austrian peace treaty before his Government.

#### PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

The arrival of the Austrian delegation at St. Germain was described in the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The ceremony of exchange of credentials preliminary to the final presentation of the treaty had occurred May 19, at 3:20 P. M. The session lasted only four minutes.

Jules Cambon presided at the meeting, and presented the credentials of the allied and associated powers. He repeated virtually the same words he used at the ceremony with the German delegates. Chancellor Renner, for the Austrians, replied briefly, ending the ceremony. Henry White represented the United States.

Each Austrian plenipotentiary provided his own set of credentials, instead of all the names being inscribed, as is customary, on a single instrument.

The Allied Commission was able to hand over a full set of credentials, including the document of Czechoslovakia and also those from other new States. The Austrians, therefore, were unable to

point out, as did the Germans, that the papers of some of the belligerents were missing.

It was expected that the Austrian treaty would be completed within a comparatively short time, but it developed that the drafting of the document was taking much longer than had been anticipated. On May 23 the Council of Four were engaged in discussion of the military terms and clauses relating to prisoners of war in co-operation with military experts; these terms were framed by Marshal Foch, Commander in Chief of the allied armies; General Diaz, Supreme Commander of the Italian Army, and other military leaders. On May 26 representatives of the new States of the former Hapsburg monarchy had a hearing before the Reparations Commission to present their objections to the proposed solution of the Austro-Hungarian financial problem, under which they would be held responsible for their share of the pre-war debt, the war debt, the war issue of currency and reparations, and would be required to compensate Austria and Hungary as constituted in the future for the value of the public buildings and other property inside the limits of the new States.

The protests against this burden were met sympathetically by the Council of Four, which sent the question to a reparations sub-commission for a rehearing. This sub-commission was supplemented by the addition of French and British representatives, who were understood to be opposed to any change. The British representatives delegated were General Smuts and John M. Keynes, and the French were Captain André Tardieu and Louis Loucheur.

On the same date it was officially announced that the Austrian credentials had been approved by the Credentials Commission of the Peace Conference, and that the Austrian delegation had sent its first note to the allied powers. This note dealt with Carinthian affairs. About the same time Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, received another communication from Dr. Renner, requesting that the peace negotiations with Austria be ex-

pedited, and pointing out that the delay was having a bad effect on the German-Austrian population, causing fear that disorders might break out; the heavy expense of maintaining the Austrian delegation at St. Germain was also said to be causing a "regrettable strain" in view of the fact that the Austrian Government was in financial straits. The reply of the Council of Four to this protest over delay in the presentation of terms gave formal notice that the presentation would take place on May 30. On May 27 the Council of Ten met to consider possible changes in the reparations clause of the treaty arising from representations made by the new States of the old Austrian Empire. On May 29, the date set for the presentation ceremony was again postponed, this time in view of the fact that the smaller powers of Eastern Europe had asked for more time before giving their assent to the treaty as drawn. This was accorded by common consent, and a plenary session for agreeing to the treaty was set for Saturday, May 31.

The change in the plans came unexpectedly in the afternoon of May 29, as the allied powers gathered in secret session at the Foreign Office for the purpose of passing on the terms. The session was largely attended, and great crowds assembled in front of the building to give President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, Premier Paderewski and other notables welcoming salutes as they arrived.

The Marquis Imperiali and the other new members of the Italian delegation were present for the first time.

The parts of the treaty already completed, omitting the military terms, reparations, and sections of the frontier settlement, were distributed to the delegations in printed form, and M. Tardieu was about to supplement these with a general summary of the document. The expectation was that this would be followed by a vote of approval, permitting the instrument to be delivered on Friday, May 30.

At the outset, however, Premier Bratianu of Rumania secured recognition. He said in behalf of Poland, Serbia, Ru-

mania, and various countries whose interests were vitally affected by the treaty, that they wanted forty-eight hours more for the examination of the document. M. Bratiano spoke in entire good feeling, with no suggestion of a protest, emphasizing the fact that the only desire of the smaller powers was to have sufficient time to understand the terms so seriously affecting them before committing themselves finally to acceptance. He made no motion beyond the request for forty-eight hours.

M. Clemenceau asked if any discussion was desired. No objection being made, M. Clemenceau said that the request seemed fair, and, since there was no objection, he would announce that an additional forty-eight hours would be granted. Thus the plenary session would go over until Saturday, May 31, and the document would be delivered two days later.

This prevailed without objection, and the session came to a sudden end within half an hour after its opening.

The postponement was without pre-arrangement and took the delegates by surprise, though the feeling was general that the smaller powers were fully justified in asking for more time.

Immediately after the adjournment of the plenary session M. Dutasta, General Secretary of the Conference, went to St. Germain and delivered a letter from M. Clemenceau notifying the Austrian delegation of the postponement. Dr. Karl Renner, head of the Austrian delegation, was surprised, but made no objections.

#### PRESENTATION OF TREATY

It was not until Monday, June 2, that the treaty of peace with Austria was delivered to the Austrian peace delegation.

The ceremony was in the ancient château of St. Germain, once a castle of Kings, now a natural history museum, where children of French workmen may roam at will, gazing at prehistoric stone implements, stuffed birds, and pictures of strange, extinct animals.

The room selected for the ceremony, although the largest in the château, provided scant space to give an effective

setting to such a function as that of the day. The room, known as the Stone Age or Prehistorical Hall, was almost entirely occupied by the conference table, arranged in a hollow rectangle, leaving little space for the tables of the secretaries crowded against the wall, and cramped quarters for a limited number of correspondents. Chairs were placed for President Wilson and Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George at the head of the table, flanked on either hand by places for the other delegates, which ran around three sides of the rectangle, as in the ceremonial at Versailles when the peace terms were handed to the Germans.

The foot of the table was reserved for Chancellor Renner and his six colleagues. A table for the Austrian secretaries and interpreters was placed behind the Austrian plenipotentiaries, and to the rear of these came space for the press.

It was the same setting as in the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles, although on a reduced scale.

The time set for the ceremony was noon. The Japanese and Chinese delegates were the first to arrive in the stone-walled room and take their places at the table. They were closely followed by Premier Clemenceau, who came early to see that all arrangements were in order.

Secretary Lansing and Henry White were the first American representatives to arrive for the function. They were followed by Arthur J. Balfour, Premier Orlando of Italy, and Premier Paderewski of Poland.

Colonel E. M. House was the only one of the American delegation not present at the session.

In addition to the conference representatives of the allied and associated powers there were present many distinguished persons, including Marshal Foch, General Bliss, Admiral Benson, and Hugh C. Wallace, the American Ambassador to France.

The others filed in rapidly several minutes before noon, and all the plenipotentiaries were in their places except President Wilson and Colonel House.

Anxious glances were cast at the empty chairs of these leading plenipotentiaries as the minutes passed beyond the hour set for the ceremony.

President Wilson arrived fifteen minutes late. He had come out from Paris by the long road through Versailles to avoid the rush of traffic on the more direct route to St. Germain, and on the way his automobile had a blowout. Before repairs were made a United States Army car with no passengers came along, took the President aboard, and rushed at full speed to St. Germain. But it had been rather a tense quarter of an hour in the Cave Period Hall of the château, with the delegates in their places wondering what was keeping the American President away so long. Colonel House was not there, but Henry White betrayed signs of nervousness, as if he were responsible for this quarter of an hour wait for his country's chief. He seemed barely to listen to what Secretary Lansing was saying to him, and for five consecutive minutes White piano-drummed on the green table with his fingers.

One turned to see what Paderewski was doing with his fingers. He was tearing a card to fine bits. His Polish colleague, Dmowski, who is a biologist when he is not making peace or building a new State, seemed absorbed in the pictures of the queer animals on the wall opposite him. Balfour, the philosopher, was counting the great oak rafters of the ceiling. Venizelos gazed at a map of France dotted with red squares showing the location of the prehistoric holes in which the cave men had dwelt in the same region where civilization began digging its trenches in 1914. Orlando busied himself with writing. The Yugoslav and the Czechoslovakian plenipotentiaries sat as if fascinated, like children watching. A few minutes later their former masters, but now the beaten Austrians, were to come to learn their fate.

And so on throughout the list of delegates who were left off their guard, so to speak, with nothing official to do in this fifteen minutes' gap in their program caused by an automobile mishap on the Versailles road. Each man

seemed a little more like an ordinary human being in this quarter of an hour recess with his own thoughts.

The instant President Wilson finally came in, laughing over his own mishap and apologizing to Clemenceau as he took a seat beside him, the word was given to usher in the seven Austrian delegates to the seats provided for them at the foot of the table.

The Austrians entered one by one at 12:22 P. M. through a door at the rear of the hall. The delegates, attired in conventional morning costume, were escorted by an Italian officer. The head usher of the Foreign Office, wearing his silver chain, announced the appearance of the Austrian plenipotentiaries in the assembly hall, which was densely packed.

Dr. Renner was calm and assured, as if entering his own house. He walked directly to his seat and motioned his colleagues to their places. The entire assemblage, which had risen upon the entry of the Austrians, seated itself. M. Clemenceau alone remained standing, and with scarcely an instant's pause the session started.

Ears which were eagerly strained to hear from M. Clemenceau some striking phrases on the origin of the war or Austria's guilt and punishment were disappointed. He refrained from any political allusion in his short speech; he merely outlined the procedure of the negotiations and explained that only part of the treaty was ready. He enumerated the completed clauses, and asked that any replies or observations to such parts of the treaty as were then laid before the Austrians be submitted in writing within fifteen days.

M. Clemenceau spoke in an easy, conversational tone befitting such routine remarks, and at the end called for translations, which on this occasion were given in Italian, as well as German and English.

The French official who attempted the German rendition opened by addressing the delegates of the Republic of German Austria. He was immediately stopped, and the diplomatic blunder in the apparent recognition of the Ger-

manic attributes of the new republic corrected.

The translator was now so nervous that presently he was caught telling the Austrians that their replies must be oral instead of written.

Chancellor Renner rose to reply at the end of the translation, but M. Clemenceau waved him to his seat to permit M. Dutasta, Secretary of the Conference, to place before him the text of the skeleton draft of the treaty. M. Dutasta walked down the long room between the rows of delegates and handed the peace terms to Dr. Renner. A tenseness seemed to go over the assembled delegates at what, under other conditions, would have been a mere commonplace of politeness, when the Frenchman and the Austrian bowed to each other without a word. The Austrian delegate then rose and read his speech. He caused considerable surprise by choosing French as the medium for his remarks.

M. Clemenceau and Marshal Foch, the latter sitting with the French delegation, were obviously pleased at the choice of language. As Dr. Renner proceeded with his discourse, revealing a tone of moderation and absence of recrimination or boasting, the strain which had been apparent among the plenipotentiaries relaxed, and all settled down to calm and reasoned appreciation of the Austrian plea.

Dr. Renner read his speech through to the end without any attempt at oratorical embellishment, though speaking with deep earnestness and sincerity.

#### AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH

Dr. Renner opened with a complaint at the delay in the presentation of the peace terms. He emphasized in the beginning that he and his colleagues represented a republic, and that the ancient Hapsburg monarchy had ceased to exist on Nov. 1, 1918; that from its ruins new nations had come, one of which he represented. And, "We are before you," he said, "as one of the parts of the vanquished empire, ready to assume our share for the consequences of the war, ready to accept each and every proposition you make to us. But we ask you to

listen to us as well as to our neighbors concerning our economic needs." Dr. Renner had hardly got started on the reading of his speech when an uneasy British photographer, in trying to adjust his camera, jammed his knee through a case of stone spearheads and axes from the Valley of the Somme. Even Clemenceau did not escape the nervous shock that ran through the room at the ominous sound of crashing glass.

Continuing, Dr. Renner appealed to the principles of President Wilson, on which the armistice was asked and granted, and alluded to the present sufferings of Austria. It was only thanks to the generosity of the Hoover Commission, he said, that the lives of the Austrian population had been saved.

Dr. Renner asked for a peace of right and justice, and for assistance to tide over the trouble. He said he would examine the terms of the Allies loyally, and do his best to work out a peace on such a basis.

The new Republic of Austria was free from the old, unfortunate tradition of the Hapsburg monarchy, and "from the horrible crime of 1914," Dr. Renner said. He declared that Austria desired to take her modest part in the work of the League of Nations.

He asked only that full weight of the punishment should not fall on the little republic, which was all that was left of the once mighty Austria, but that it be regarded as only one of eight new republics into which the old monarchy had been divided, and that it be made to pay no more of the penalty than it could bear.

"Our State rests in your hands," said Dr. Renner, "and we hope before the conscience of the world that the Allies will not abuse this power."

Dr. Renner concluded his address at 12:50 o'clock. It was translated into English and Italian.

The Austrian Chancellor stood while reading his speech, and his attitude, like that of the entire delegation, was extremely courteous, contrasting sharply with that of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau and the other Germans at Versailles. The conciliatory tones of Dr. Renner ap-

parently created a good impression on the allied delegation. President Wilson, resting his chin on his hand, listened with the closest attention. The general atmosphere seemed quite friendly.

The delegates of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia alone evinced discontent at those parts of the speech in which the Austrian chief by implication attempted to assign to them a proportionate share of reparations.

The English translator rose as the Austrian finished, and furnished the version to which President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, and Henry White listened closely.

The attention of the assembly wavered as the proceedings passed into Italian. This version was listened to only by the Italian delegates, many of the other representatives indulging in a subdued discussion of the Austrian plenipotentiary's thesis.

Almost before those assembled realized it, the Italian translator reached the end of his labors. M. Clemenceau was on his feet and put a quick question—"Any remarks? Then the session is closed."

Dr. Renner and his colleagues, accompanied by the secretaries and Austrian correspondents, filed out of the door. Other delegates, waiting only until they had left the room, departed by the opposite portal.

#### SERBIAN DELEGATE'S APPROVAL

It was Austria that fired the first shot in the European war. Serbia was the first victim. So, after the Allies had presented the terms of peace to the Austrian delegation at St. Germain, and Dr. Renner, chief of that delegation, had replied, the comment of Dr. Vesnitch, the Serbian plenipotentiary, was of more than ordinary interest. On the way out of the château the Serbian statesman was asked what he thought of the ceremony. He replied as follows:

It was splendid. What Renner said was good in content, good in the manner and spirit in which it was said. He stood up to say it. There is no comparison whatever between the ceremony we have just witnessed and that of May 7, when the treaty was presented to the Germans at Versailles.

What Dr. Vesnitch said was what all the other delegates apparently thought.

#### DR. RENNER RECEIVES THE TREATY

Dr. Karl Renner, after receiving the portion of the treaty handed him, accompanied by three of the leading members of the mission and two secretaries, left St. Germain for Innsbrück June 3, 1919, there to meet members of the Austrian Government.

The complete treaty was not handed him. Several clauses were missing. The territorial clauses were included. The treaty leaves Austria a State of between six and seven million inhabitants, and an area of five thousand to six thousand square miles.

She is required to recognize the complete independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State, and to cede other territories which previously, in union with her, composed Austria-Hungary, losing a population of nearly forty-three millions.

Austria, under the treaty, accepts the League of Nations covenant, the Labor Charter, renounces all her extra-European rights, demobilizes her aerial forces, admits the right of trial by the allied and associated powers of her nationals guilty of violating the international laws and customs, and accepts detailed provisions similar to those of the German treaty as to economic relations and freedom of transit. She consents to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839 by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and accepts, in advance, any convention which the Allies may determine to replace them. She accepts all arrangements which the allied and associated powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges, or interests claimed in those countries by Austria or her nationals.

A special clause in the treaty which provoked some protest from the new independent States, as impairing their sovereignty, provides as follows:

Austria undertakes to bring her institutions into conformity with the principles of liberty and justice and acknowledges that the obligations for the protection of minorities are matters of international concern over which the League of Nations

has jurisdiction. She assures complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion, together with the right to the free exercise of any creed. All Austrian nationals without distinction of race, language, or religion are to be equal before the law.

No restrictions are to be imposed on the free use of any language in private or public, and reasonable facilities are to be given to Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language before the courts. Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities are to enjoy the same protection as other Austrian nationals, in particular in regard to schools and other educational establishments and in districts where a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are resident; facilities are to be given in schools for the instruction of children in their own language and an

equable share of public funds is to be provided for the purpose.

These provisions do not preclude the Austrian Government from making the teaching of German obligatory. They are to be embodied by Austria in her fundamental law as a bill of rights and provisions regarding them are to be under the protection of the League of Nations.

She is forbidden to construct, or acquire, any submarines even for commercial purposes.

The final text of the treaty was not completed until June 19, 1919, and was delivered to the Austrian mission in its completed form on June 21. The Austrian mission responded in part to the fragmentary treaty first communicated to them, in a voluminous document which was not placed before the Council of Five until June 18, and which was not made public.

## Difficult Days for Austria

### Communist Uprisings Put Down

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

THE long resistance of the Austrian population to Bolshevikistic propaganda has been repeatedly demonstrated in the months since the signing of the armistice. The efforts of the Hungarian Reds, who have conducted a highly organized campaign to "bolshevize" the Austrians in Vienna, have met again and again with failure. Riots and incipient rebellions, notably that which occurred in May, denoted some temporary measure of success, but the Austrian Government retained control of the situation. The main factor in the Austrian resistance to the Communists was the food furnished to Vienna by the Allies; Bolshevism meant starvation.

There was a great Communist demonstration in Vienna on Sunday, June 15, with rioting, in which eight persons were killed and sixty-six wounded. The trouble began when 6,000 demonstrators attempted the release from prison of Communist leaders arrested on Saturday. The police fired volleys into the air, and then fired into the crowd. Yet the rioters succeeded in releasing the

Communist leaders. Five policemen were wounded.

Publication of the peace terms aroused great excitement in Austria. President Seitz, in a statement issued on May 24, set forth his belief that the delegates would not sign the Austrian treaty unless the Allies showed a "sympathetic understanding of their real condition." He said, in part:

There are 3,500,000 German Bohemians who are made foreigners in their own country under the rule of a people not sympathetic to Germany. The same may be said of the Tyrol, where commercial and racial questions are subordinated to the strategic, although President Wilson's point said the opposite. We are also troubled about the Jugoslav claims on Marburg and Klagenfurt, which are Austrian cities. Last November we gave up our claims to the territory south of these cities, which is Slovene; but the Jugoslavs are not content, notwithstanding the fact that there are only a few Slovenes in the territory we claim, and that they wish to live with us for business reasons. We also gave up the Trentino without a question.

I wish to say in the most solemn manner that Austria is doomed to die if she is

not permitted to join Germany. We cannot live alone. We have a great city with a small territory composed of mountains and plains. If the Allies give our German provinces to the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs without making the new owners take up the burdens in the way of taxation and war debts, it will mean our bankruptcy. If we go bankrupt, it will mean worse social troubles than those of Russia, with a menace to the peace of Europe.

My thought is that the war burdens should be distributed per capita among the 28,000,000 persons making up the former empire, not including Hungary. It is impossible to make 6½ per cent. of the people pay all the debt. If it is argued that the Czechs are entitled to special consideration because they are one of the associated powers, it must be taken into consideration that a majority of the Austrians did not want the war. They were forced to fight, just as the Czechs were. As it stands we have hardly enough money to pay for our daily food, which we are importing in part from the United States.

We are ready for a peace that will let us live. Our delegates at St. Germain must report to Parliament, which has sole authority to decide whether or not to sign the terms.

The armistice between the Austrians and the Jugoslavs in the region of Klagenfurt was forced by the entry of Serbian troops into Klagenfurt on the morning of June 7 to re-establish order, the Austrians having failed to accept the Jugoslav conditions for a cessation of

hostilities in Carinthia. The armistice became effective at 7 P. M. June 6. The Austrians agreed to repair the damage caused by their offensive against the Jugoslavs in May.

On June 11 it was learned that under the terms of the armistice between the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and Austria, the Austrians had evacuated the neutral zone fixed by the armistice, while the Jugoslavs had withdrawn to points beyond the demarkation line originally fixed by the Allies. It was stipulated that the towns and districts of Klagenfurt, Rosseg, and Volkermarkt be allotted to the Jugoslavs, while Saint Veit, Villach, and the Tarvis railways were given to the Austrians.

Ex-Emperor Charles and ex-Empress Zita, accompanied by several Austrian Archdukes, a numerous suite and a mountain of baggage, arrived on May 20 at Nyon, on the western side of Lake Geneva, from St. Gall. The former Austrian royal pair were hissed by the crowd as they alighted from the ordinary train in which they had traveled and took automobiles for the Château Pranzins, near Geneva, their future home, which was once the residence of Prince Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. Swiss gendarmes had been detailed temporarily to guard the château.

## President Wilson in Belgium

### Address to the Deputies

PRESIDENT WILSON, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, left Paris June 18, 1919, to visit Belgium. They were met at Adinkerke by King Albert and Queen Elizabeth and left by motor for a trip along the Belgian front, reaching Brussels that evening. They were cordially greeted by the populace at all points. On June 19 the President addressed the Belgian Chamber of Deputies—after a visit with King Albert to the devastated regions around Charleroi. In the ruins of the Library of Louvain, destroyed by the Germans in 1914, the

degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on President Wilson by the University of Louvain.

The Chamber of Deputies was elaborately decorated in honor of the President. He was first welcomed by the President of the Chamber, who in turn was followed by Foreign Minister Hymans, who expressed Belgium's gratitude to America. In his speech the President said:

The enemy committed many outrages in this war, gentlemen, but the initial outrage was the fundamental outrage of all.

They, with insolent indifference, violated the sacredness of treaties. They showed that they did not care for the honor of any pledge. They showed that they did not care for the independence of any nation, whether it had raised its hand against them or not; that they were ruthless in their determination to have their whim at their pleasure. Therefore it was the violation of Belgium that awakened the world to the realization of the character of the struggle. \* \* \* \*

The League of Nations is the child of this great war, for it is the expression of those permanent resolutions which grew out of the temporary necessities of this great struggle, and any nation which declines to adhere to this covenant deliberately turns away from the most telling appeal that has ever been made to its conscience and to its manhood.

The nation that wishes to use the League of Nations for its convenience and not for the service of the rest of the world deliberately chooses to turn back to those bad days of selfish contest, when every nation thought first and always of itself, and not of its neighbors; thought of its rights and forgot its duties, thought of its power and overlooked its responsibility.

Those bad days, I hope, are gone, and the great moral powers, backed, if need be, by the great physical powers of the civilized nations of the world, will now stand firm for the maintenance of the fine partnership which we have thus inaugurated.

It cannot be otherwise. Perhaps the conscience of some chancelleries was asleep, and the outrage of Germany awakened it. You cannot see one great nation violate every principle of right without beginning to know what the principles of right are and to love them, to despite those who violate them and to form the firm resolve that such a violation shall now be punished, and in the future be prevented.

These are the feelings with which I have come to Belgium, and it has been my thought to propose to the Congress of the United States, as a recognition and as a welcome of Belgium into her new status of complete independence, to raise the mission of the United States of America to Belgium to the rank of an embassy, and send an Ambassador. This is the rank which Belgium enjoys in our esteem; why should she not enjoy it in form and in fact?

The visit to devastated Belgium was made by motor. King Albert wore his officer's suit of khaki. Queen Elizabeth wore a simple white dress, with a dark blue motoring coat. Beneath the President's long duster he wore a frock coat,

and during the trip he wore a golfing cap. Mrs. Wilson was dressed in dark blue, with a silk autoing coat.

Nieuport was the first halt. The only houses that were intact or even habitable were one or two frame shacks which were recently erected for the entertainment of tourists.

From Nieuport eastward along the old line of trenches to Dixmude, where the lines at one time almost touched each other, the party alighted at one or two places to examine the nature of the trenches. It then went on toward Ypres. All that part of the ride was in an almost deserted country. There were very few refugees and there could be seen little attempt toward reclaiming the soil.

It was like a dead country. Here and there a civilian was encountered, but always his face expressed seeming hopelessness. Ypres, however, showed a somewhat greater display of animation. Notwithstanding the terrible destruction wrought there, a few former residents have found their way back and a dozen or more frame buildings have been erected to serve as hotels, restaurants, drinking places and small shops. They reflect the only industry in the place, catering to tourists, both official and unofficial.

A semblance of civil government had been restored in this district, and the Burgomaster appeared before the President, thanking him for what America did for Belgium. The British garrison and a number of British nurses added to the crowd that gathered to welcome the party. The work of salvaging war material on the Ypres battlefield was almost completed, but enough remained to add to the depression of the King and his guests. Scores of battered and broken tanks on both sides of Ypres served to justify its characterization as "the tank graveyard."

The party lunched in picnic style in the Holthoust Forest. This piece of woods, like all others in that zone, is but the skeleton of a forest. It was well back of the old German lines.

In Menin, where the work of destruction was less marked, the people gave the party the first real greeting of the

day. The town was decorated and apparently all the inhabitants were in the streets. The word had gone out that the King's guests were President Wilson and his wife, and after this time whenever the party passed through a town it seemed that every man, woman, and child was in the streets. Schools were either dismissed or the pupils were brought in a body to join in the demonstrations. It seemed there were at least eight children for every adult, and, although Mr. Wilson failed to respond to all the cheers, it was only rarely that he failed to answer the cries of "Vive l'Amérique!" and "Vive President Wilson!" from the youngsters.

From Roulers, the scene of much hard fighting because of its strategic importance, the route turned northward toward Ostend, untouched by the war except through the visits of bombing airplanes, of which there was abundant evidence. Through crowded streets and along the seawall, alive with pleasure seekers, the President was taken on a tour of the buildings wrecked by airmen. At the City Hall the President signed his name at the request of the Burgomaster in a book filled with the

names of notables who had visited Ostend.

Leaving Ostend, the party went through Blankenbergh to Zeebrugge. The motor ride ended at Zeebrugge, the tourists boarding a train there for Brussels.

The visit to the former U-boat base at Zeebrugge was most interesting. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were taken out to the mole, which was broken in April, 1918, by the British, and from there saw the rusting parts of the hulls of vessels which were sunk in the channel to the sea. At Zeebrugge, Captain Carpenter, former commander of the British battleship *Vindictive*, which figured in the attack on that U-boat base and which was later sunk at Ostend, met the party, and with Captain Nevins, senior officer, accompanied Mr. Wilson, at the request of the King, explaining how the attack was made.

The President visited Cardinal Mercier while at Malines. The reception ended on the evening of June 19 at Brussels with a State banquet given by the King and Queen, after which the President returned to Paris.

## Opening of the Sixty-Sixth Congress

### Gravity of the Problems Confronting It—Storm in Senate Over the Treaty Leak—Results of Investigation

**M**ATTERS of the utmost importance confronted the extraordinary session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, which opened its proceedings in Washington on May 19, 1919; problems growing out of the world war, affecting not only the domestic life of the country but also tending to place the United States in a wider international sphere and opening the most momentous era in American history since the time of the civil war. Action on the Peace Treaty and the intertwined League of Nations covenant, which excited bitter opposition among the Republicans; adjustment of Mexican relations, the re-

moval of industry from the effects of war regulations, the return of the nationalized railroads to their owners, and the formation of a merchant marine policy are only a few of the matters which the Sixty-sixth Congress must decide upon prior to the opening of the regular session in December.

The extra session was called by President Wilson while abroad. The Republicans organized both branches, entering again into control after an absence of eight years in the House and six years in the Senate. The House was organized with a Republican majority of thirty-nine; the Senate with a Republican ma-

jority of two. Harmony marked the organization of the House and appeared on the surface in the Senate. Albert B. Cummins of Iowa was elected President pro tempore of the Senate and Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts Speaker of the House. An incident of the House session was the refusal to seat Victor L. Berger, elected to the House by the Socialists of Milwaukee, on the ground of his conviction for disloyalty to the country.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

After both houses had elected officers, committees were appointed to inform the President that Congress had been organized and awaited his message. A cablegram was sent to President Wilson at Paris embodying this notification. On May 21 the President acknowledged this communication. In the meantime his official message to Congress was received and presented on May 20. This message, which was cabled from Paris, was the first in the history of the nation to be thus transmitted to an American Congress. On the date mentioned, the document was read officially by the Clerks in the Senate and the House. The larger part of it was devoted to questions incident upon the war, and presented some striking recommendations. Briefly summarized, the message contained the following salient features:

1. Progressive improvement in the conditions of labor, which must lead to a genuine co-operation and partnership based upon a real community of interest and participation in control with Federal and State legislation to help bring about this condition.
2. The creation of land settlements for returned soldiers and sailors.
3. Legislation to build up the shipping industry and facilitate American enterprise in foreign markets.
4. Reduction of the income war profits, inheritance taxes, excise taxes and taxes on retail sales.
5. Increase in the tariff on dyes and chemicals to prevent these American industries from being brought into competition with German products.
6. Opposition to a general tariff revision of American import duties and a recommendation that the nation be prepared to adopt retaliatory methods if any country should raise a discriminatory tariff against American products.
7. Passage of the woman suffrage res-

olution and its immediate submission to the State Legislatures.

8. Return of the railroads to their owners at the end of the calendar year, and the telephones and telegraph systems at an early date, with the suggestion that legislation be enacted to make these systems a more co-ordinated and uniform part of our national life.

9. Repeal of wartime prohibition, on the ground that demobilization had progressed far enough to make it safe to allow beers and wines to be sold, combined with the statement that the President himself had not the authority to raise the ban.

Comment upon the President's message among Senators and Congressmen was divided largely according to political alignment. Republicans insisted that the President in the essential suggestions for reconstruction laws had merely echoed policies that had already been enunciated by leaders in their own ranks in Congress. Democrats commended the message as outlining in general terms a program which, if followed by Congress, would hasten the return to normal national life.

#### PEACE TREATY LEAK

The early sessions of the new extraordinary Congress were agitated by stormy debates regarding certain revelations made by Senator Borah of Idaho and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts as to the existence in the United States of copies of the Peace Treaty, which the Peace Conference had declined to make public in this country. This storm broke in the Senate on June 3, when Senator Borah informed the Senate that several copies of the treaty text were in the hands of "special interests in New York." This was confirmed by Senator Lodge, who told the Senate that while in New York on June 2 he had examined a copy of the full text of the proposed treaty with Germany. He knew, he added, that there were at least six copies of the full text in New York.

The disclosures made by the two Senators created a stir in the Senate. Opponents of the League of Nations covenant had loudly demanded the full text of the treaty. On June 4 Senator Hitchcock, Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, offered a resolution demanding an investigation of the

manner in which the secret copies of the treaty had been obtained in New York. The Senate on June 6 decided unanimously to investigate the "leak." Almost simultaneously a second resolution was passed, offered by Senator Johnson of California, calling upon the Secretary of State to furnish the full text of the treaty to the Senate "if not incompatible with the public interest."

The first official action of the Investigating Committee was to subpoena the following influential bankers of Wall Street to appear before the committee: J. Pierpont Morgan, Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Thomas W. Lamont, who was financial adviser to the Peace Commission; Henry P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co., Frank Vanderlip, retiring head of the National City Bank, and Paul Warburg, former member of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

The announcement of the committee's decision to subpoena these men was followed by another storm in the Senate on June 9. A cablegram from President Wilson to Secretary Tumulty had been read stating that the President was not inclined at that time to have the treaty submitted to the Senate. Senator Borah then created a sensation by declaring that a copy of the Peace Treaty had come into his possession, and by a motion that this copy be spread upon the record. A turbulent debate began that lasted for five hours. Democratic Senators led by Senator Hitchcock tried to defeat Senator Borah's effort to get the document on the record, but after the latter had read for thirty-five minutes from the treaty, which totaled some 80,000 words, the motion to spread it on the record was carried by a vote of 42 to 24. In offering the copy of the treaty, Senator Borah said that it had been given to him June 8 by The Chicago Tribune, whose correspondent, Frazier Hunt, had obtained it in Paris, and that he understood that it was an authentic copy of the treaty as presented to the Germans in Versailles.

[The full text was published in THE NEW YORK TIMES June 9, being the version first handed to the Germans on May 7.]

The Senate Committee on June 11 succeeded in tracing the course of the copy of the treaty which had been shown Senator Lodge. It had come originally from Thomas W. Lamont, financial adviser at Paris. Mr. Lamont had given it to Henry P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co. as the head of the League of Red Cross Societies, who in turn had passed it on to Elihu Root. It was Mr. Root who had shown it to Senator Lodge. Indignantly repudiating the implication of any illicit possession of the document, Mr. Root insisted that there was no impropriety in his action. Mr. Davison stated that he, as the head of the Red Cross, had received the copy of the treaty, but when he learned the Council of Five had refused to make it public he decided to show it to none of his partners, but gave the copy to ex-Secretary of State Root, who had been consulted originally in the drafting of the document. The other bankers summoned testified that they had not seen a copy.

#### RESOLUTION ON LEAGUE

Through a resolution offered on June 10 by Senator P. C. Knox of Pennsylvania, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and a former Secretary of State, the initial move was made in an effort by opponents of the League of Nations covenant to separate it from the treaty of peace. It embraced an attempt to have this done through action by the Peace Conference, by redrafting the covenant so as to make it optional with nations to join now, or, if they preferred, later on. The interests of those not joining at this time would be put into the hands of diplomatic commissions. Action on this resolution was debated in the Senate, but no vote was taken on it at the time of going to press (June 20).

Discussion on Mexican affairs was evoked on June 16 in both houses of Congress by the crossing of the Rio Grande by American troops. Senator Fall read a telegram from El Paso stating that the American movement was in aid of Carranza and placed in jeopardy every American in Mexico. He then suggested a policing and protective policy. Senator King announced that he would offer again in the Senate a resolution asking

information as to the number of Americans killed in Mexico, and to press for settlement of American claims thus engendered. In the House Representative Gould of New York made a brief speech, in which he asserted that 300 Americans had been killed in Mexico, and in which he attacked the Administration's Mexican policy.

Among the measures passed by Congress was the bill for the War Risk

Fund, for which the House on May 22 approved a deficiency appropriation to pay \$42,615,000 allotments overdue to dependents of soldiers and sailors, and the Army bill, on June 6, which provided for an army of 400,000 men and 21,000 officers. The Navy bill, which appropriated about \$550,000,000, some \$200,000,000 reduction, had not been passed at the time this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press.

## CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1919.]

### LABOR UNREST

THE labor situation assumed very serious aspects at widely separated points during June. The most serious manifestation was in Canada. A strike at Winnipeg had dangerous aspects when practically the whole working population, including the firemen, the police, and other civil servants, joined in a sympathetic strike. For several days all public utilities were idle and a revolutionary state of affairs prevailed. Volunteers finally manned the street cars and civil departments and returned soldiers assumed police duties. The strike fever spread throughout Northwest Canada, and a general strike was proclaimed in Toronto. In the latter city there was a strike of metal workers, but the response to the call for a general strike was feeble. The authorities stood firm and the forces of law and order discharged public services as volunteers in many cities. The striking civil servants were discharged and their places were filled by volunteers and returned soldiers. By June 20 the failure of the general strike was apparent everywhere and practically normal conditions prevailed. At Winnipeg the strike leaders were placed under arrest for conspiracy. There were no serious disorders at any time.

In France a general strike occurred among the miners, and all subway and surface transportation was stopped in

Paris by strikes. What threatened to become a general strike in all industries was finally averted and the differences were adjusted by the authorities. The French Chamber refused to be intimidated by the striking miners in reducing the hours of labor below eight, and the firm stand of the Government brought about a compromise.

In Buenos Aires a serious strike prevailed, and for thirteen days no daily papers were issued. It was finally adjusted on June 18 by a compromise.

A strike in the printing trades in Berlin in June closed all the newspaper offices, and no daily papers appeared for several days. It ended on June 18.

A telegraph strike of nation-wide proportions was in progress in this country at the time of going to press, (June 20,) but the telegraph service was not seriously impaired anywhere. A strike among telephone operators was quickly settled by recognition by the Government of the right of operators to organize for collective bargaining.

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### BOMB OUTRAGES IN EIGHT CITIES

BOMB outrages were committed on the night of June 2 in Boston, Paterson, N. J.; New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Cleveland, Ohio. The homes of prominent United States officials marked by anarchists for their past activities against the forces of Bolshevism and anti-Governmental

disorder were blown up; considerable property damage was done, some innocent people lost their lives, and in one case the anarchist who laid the bomb was blown to atoms by its premature explosion. The following attacks were made:

**BOSTON AND VICINITY** — Albert F. Hayden, Judge of the Roxbury Municipal Court; Leland W. Powers, representative of the Massachusetts Legislature, residing in Newtonville, Mass.

**NEW JERSEY** — Max Gold, silk manufacturer, Paterson.

**PENNSYLVANIA** — Rectory of Catholic Church, Our Lady of Victory Parish, Philadelphia; Louis Jajlek, jeweler, Philadelphia; W. H. S. Thompson, Federal Judge, Pittsburgh; W. W. Sibray, Chief Inspector of Bureau of Immigration, Pittsburgh.

**WASHINGTON** — A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of United States.

**OHIO** — (Anarchist blown to atoms by premature explosion; house badly damaged;) Harry L. Davis, Cleveland.

**NEW YORK** — Judge Nott, New York City; (street watchman blown to bits by the explosion; house badly damaged.)

A connection between this series of bomb outrages, which failed in every case to injure the intended victim, and the bomb conspiracy hatched in April to assassinate prominent men in all parts of the country rested in the fact that one of those attacked on June 2 was Attorney General Palmer, to whom one of the bombs in the April conspiracy was sent by mail. The Federal authorities at once started a nation-wide campaign to run down the anarchists. The Secret Service of the Treasury, the Post Office Department, and the Bureau of Mines organized all their facilities to aid in unearthing the perpetrators of these crimes. Meanwhile the police and detective forces of the various cities involved worked actively to trace the outrages to their source. New statutes to repress anarchy and local legislation to the same end were enacted. Up to June 20 no definite trace of the real perpetrators had been disclosed.

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#### RENTS IN PARIS

**I**N every quarter of Paris rents have been raised, in some instances as much as 300 per cent. In the humbler districts the average rental of \$100

a year has been doubled. In the boulevard districts rents have jumped for small flats from \$30 a month to \$100 and in some instances to \$120 a month. A flat off the Boulevard des Italiens which rented at \$400 a year was raised to \$800. In working class quarters the increase has been from 75 per cent. to 150 per cent. The fees paid concierges when leases were closed, which before the war ranged around 1 per cent., are now in excess of 4 per cent. of the total annual rental.

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#### MEMORIAL DAY AT HOME AND ABROAD

**T**HE first Memorial Day after the conclusion of the European war was marked by impressive ceremonies in France, Great Britain, and the United States. Not one American grave was overlooked in France. Special exercises were held at Argonne Cemetery, where 30,000 American dead were honored, of whom 20,000 are buried where they fell. Each grave was decorated with an American flag and a wreath of evergreens from the Argonne Forest. General Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, made the chief address here, where 9,572 officers and men lie in long tiers, forming a plot of approximately thirteen acres, an inscribed cross at each grave's head. General Pershing said in part:

To the memory of these heroes this sacred spot is consecrated as a shrine where future generations of men who love liberty may come to do homage. It is not for us to proclaim what they did, their silence speaks more eloquently than words. But it is for us to uphold the conception of duty, honor, and country for which they fought and for which they died. It is for us, the living, to carry forward their purpose and make fruitful their sacrifice.

And now, dear comrades, farewell. Here under the clear skies on the green hillsides and amid the flowering fields of France, in the quiet hush of peace, we leave you forever in God's keeping.

Another notable ceremony was held at Suresnes, near Paris; President Wilson left the labors of the Peace Conference to attend the exercises in the American Cemetery, where he delivered an address commemorating the spirit of the American soldiers and reiterating the high re-

solve of the allied nations to complete the purpose for which they fought, to put an end to war forever. The conclusion of his address, like that of General Pershing, sounded this note decisively: "Here stand I, consecrated in the spirit of the men who were once my comrades, and who are now gone, and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity." Wreaths laid by the President on the graves of the Suresnes dead were contributed by the Boy Scouts of America.

Other ceremonies were held at the Picpus Cemetery, near Paris, where the American Ambassador to France laid a wreath on the tomb of Lafayette; at Thiaucourt, where 4,000 Americans lie buried, and at Montfaucon, southeast of Romagne, where men of the 79th Division were slain in the effort to take the town against desperate German resistance.

In Great Britain the graves of 1,562 American soldiers and sailors were decorated and American flags placed above them by army and navy officials. Services were conducted throughout many small towns and villages in England and Scotland, in the vicinity of former American concentration camps, in which the local clergy and the townspeople participated. The service at Queenstown was attended by the American Consul and Vice Consul. Flowers were laid on the graves of the Lusitania victims, and at Liverpool and the Island of Islay flowers were scattered on the water in memory of those buried at sea.

Memorial Day was solemnly observed in the National Capital. Exercises were held in the Arlington National Cemetery and elsewhere. Members of Congress paid homage to the occasion. The significance of this Memorial Day was brought out in official statements issued by Secretary Baker and other representatives of the nation, including a special Memorial Day message cabled by President Wilson. Impressive ceremonies, including parades in which the survivors of the civil war marched with their younger comrades of the European struggle, made the day memorable in all parts of the United States.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT for woman's suffrage passed the House of Congress May 21 by a vote of 304 to 89, the vote standing: Yeas, Republicans, 200; Democrats, 102; Independents, 1; Prohibition, 1; nays, Republicans, 19; Democrats, 89. The Senate passed the amendment by a vote of 56 to 25 on June 4, the division being as follows: Yeas, Republicans, 36; Democrats, 20; nays, Republicans, 8; Democrats, 17. The passage of the amendment by Congress brought the measure up to the States for ratification. Michigan was the first State to ratify, followed by Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Kansas. The New York Legislature was called in extra session June 16 to act on the measure; it was ratified unanimously. Up to June 20, eight States had ratified.

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#### GERMANY'S LOSSES BY THE TREATY

UNDER the treaty as finally submitted to the Germans for acceptance the following recapitulation shows the losses sustained by Germany in areas and population:

	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Alsace-Lorraine, to France	5,680	1,874,014
Sarre Coal Basin, to League of Nations.....	738	234,200
Schleswig, to Denmark.....	2,787	693,984
Posen and part of Silesia, to Poland (including port of Danzig) .....	28,412	8,440,379
Malmödy, to Belgium.....	382	119,184
Total in Europe.....	37,999	11,361,761
LOSSES OF HER COLONIES.		
Togoland .....	33,668	1,003,612
Kamerun .....	305,019	3,501,537
German Southwest Africa.....	322,432	102,586
German East Africa.....	384,170	7,515,666
New Guinea (exclusive of the Ladrone Islands)...	92,244	545,478
Caroline Islands.....	560	39,000
Marshall Islands.....	158	16,000
Ladrone Islands.....	420	10,000
German Samoan Islands..	993	37,980
Kiao-Chau (China).....	213	196,470
Total of Colonies.....	1,139,877	12,968,329
Grand Total .....	1,177,876	24,330,090

#### GERMANY IN EUROPE.

	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Before the War.....	208,825	64,925,993
After the War.....	170,826	53,564,232

## NEW HOME RULE PARTY IN IRELAND

THE delegates from the All American Irish Congress sent several communications to the American delegates to the Peace Congress in an effort to obtain permits for the delegates representing the Irish Republic to appear before the congress, but their efforts were unavailing. They issued a statement declaring that the treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails was inhuman, but this was strongly denounced in Parliament as wholly false. Large forces were kept in Ireland to maintain order, and serious outbreaks by Sinn Feiners were apprehended. On June 17 it was announced that an influential organization was being formed in Ireland under the name of "The Irish Dominion League." It is composed of men who believe that an Irish Republic is untenable and undesirable, but think that a prompt measure of home rule on the fullest colonial lines is urgently necessary.

Among the promoters of the league are Sir Horace Plunkett, Chairman of the Irish Convention, and many men who were associated with him in the convention as well as representatives of important business and professional interests.

The proposals mark a large advance on the provisions of the 1914 Home Rule act or the two previous Home Rule bills, and their promotion by men of position is regarded as significant of the growth of home rule opinion and the urgency of a settlement.

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## AMERICAN MEAT PRODUCTION

AMERICAN dressed meat production, including lard, amounted last year to 20,129,800,000 pounds—a quantity never before approached in magnitude by the live stock industry of this or any other country. The corresponding figures for 1917 were 16,317,300,000 pounds, according to statistics prepared for the Department of Agriculture by John Roberts. Three-fourths of this enormous increase was in pork and one-fourth was in beef.

The surplus in 1918 was so great that the extra demands for export made little

impression on it. There was, nevertheless, a very great increase in the overseas shipments as compared with 1917. The total shipments of meat and lard in 1917 amounted in round figures to slightly under 1,750,000,000 pounds; in 1918 they were slightly over 3,000,000,000 pounds, or very nearly doubled. These shipments do not include products sent in United States vessels to our forces abroad.

In the aggregate, more meat by far is eaten in the United States than in any other country in the world. However, certain countries in the southern hemisphere—Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina—are recorded as having a considerably larger consumption per head of the population. But those countries are sparsely populated and they raise great quantities of meat for export, consequently it is a comparatively cheap and plentiful food in the home market.

Of the older countries where statistics of meat consumption have been kept for long periods the following were the principal consumers of meat before the war:

Country.	Annual Per Cap. Pounds.
United States .....	150
Canada .....	137
United Kingdom .....	120
Germany .....	112
France .....	79
Denmark .....	76
Switzerland .....	75
Belgium .....	70
Holland .....	70
Greece .....	68
Austria-Hungary .....	64
Norway .....	62
Sweden .....	62
Spain .....	49
Italy .....	46

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## BULGARIA'S SECRET TREATY

CRAWFORD PRICE, editor of The Balkan Review of London, in the May issue stated that he had obtained from a source of unquestionable authenticity a hitherto secret treaty concluded between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary early in September, 1914. By this agreement, when the war was hardly a month old, Bulgaria bound herself not to enter into any alliance directed against Aus-

tria; and there was the further provision that "if Austria-Hungary, without any provocation on her part, is attacked by any State bordering on Bulgaria, the latter engages herself to bring her military forces into action against the State in question as soon as a demand to this effect shall be made"—a provision obviously aimed at Rumania, then still neutral.

This revelation was expected to have an important bearing on the claims of Bulgaria before the Peace Congress for territorial concessions on the plea that the country was forced into the war on the side of the Central Powers.

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#### THE CZECHOSLOVAKS: A CORRECTION

CHARLES PERGLER, Commissioner of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States, has called attention to certain inaccuracies in Mr. Matocha's article in the May CURRENT HISTORY, entitled "Work of the Czechoslovaks in America." He takes exception to the statement that at first the socialistic ideas of the leaders of the Bohemian National Alliance were looked upon with suspicion by the conservative Czech element. Mr. Pergler writes:

The Bohemian National Alliance was and is an organization of all Czechoslovak elements, and its activities were participated in by all classes and kinds of people. I know, because until I entered my present official position I was one of its Vice Presidents. Its whole activities were nonpartisan, and its whole aim to further the cause of Czechoslovak independence, for which cause it raised large sums of money. In this Bohemian National Alliance there was represented the vast majority of Czechoslovak organizations in this country, such as fraternal organizations, the Sokol Societies, and the Socialists never had more than two delegates in its Central Committee, and were in an infinitesimal minority.

Mr. Pergler states that the Bohemian National Alliance was organized at the outbreak of the European war, and that the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics, with headquarters in Chicago, came into being some three years later. In reply to certain other statements in the original article he writes:

The American branch of the Czechoslovak National Council was established

in February, 1918, in a conference in Chicago, with sixteen members, and these sixteen members lived throughout the United States, and not in Washington. I was the Director of the Washington office, and the only man in Washington who was a member of this branch.

The Slav Press Bureau was established on May 14, 1917, in New York City, in the Tribune Building, with myself as Director. When the office of the National Council in Washington was founded the Slav Press Bureau went out of existence.

Professor Masaryk did not arrive in San Francisco. He arrived in Vancouver. I know, because he cabled for me from Tokio, and I met him in Vancouver. To say that the State Department refused to allow him to proceed through this country, and that any intervention was necessary by anybody, is an unjust reflection upon the State Department.

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While in the United States President Masaryk never even was in Detroit, and was not met there by the Rev. I. Kestl. I know, because ever since Masaryk's landing in Vancouver, and until September, when I was appointed American delegate to the Czechoslovak National Council, I acted as President Masaryk's private secretary.

Mr. Pergler adds that the official American recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council was handed to President Masaryk on Sept. 3, 1918, and not to Captain Voska. He calls attention to the fact that it was, of course, not the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic which was "first read in public in Independence Hall, Philadelphia," as that Constitution has not yet been formulated. The Philadelphia meeting was one held by the Mid-European Union. The Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation was issued on Oct. 18, 1918, at Washington.

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#### SERBIA'S WAR LOSSES

AN official statement issued at Paris by the Serbian delegates to the Peace Conference showed that Serbia mobilized during the war 707,343 men, being 40 per cent of her male population, 24 per cent of the total inhabitants. Her losses in killed, died of wounds, and sickness totaled 292,342, and in addition 77,278 men were reported as missing during the retreat through Albania, bringing the total

losses to 369,630, or over 50 per cent. of those mobilized.

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#### LAND FOR CANADIAN SOLDIERS

THAT Canada intends to take care of her returned soldiers was shown by the introduction of the Soldiers' Settlement into the Canadian House of Commons at Ottawa on May 12. This bill, presented by the Minister of the Interior, extended the scope of legislation created in 1917, by which Dominion lands within fifteen miles of a railway were made available for soldier settlement, and further provided for the purchase of privately owned lands in any province for resale to eligible soldier-settlers. Those who are eligible in this connection are members of the Canadian Imperial or Colonial forces who made a war record outside Canada, and members of the Canadian Expeditionary force in Canada who have received pensions for injury sustained during their period of service at home, or their widows.

The bill further empowered the Soldier Settlement Board to loan money up to \$4,500, repayable in twenty-five annual installments at 5 per cent. interest; \$2,000 can be loaned for the purchase of live stock and implements, and \$1,000 for permanent improvements. The bill also provided for agricultural training for eligible soldiers requiring such training, and the payment of allowances to their families meanwhile.

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#### EMPERRESS EUGENIE'S 93D BIRTHDAY

THE ex-Emperress Eugénie of the French celebrated the 93d anniversary of her birth on May 5, 1919, in her English home at Farnborough.

Buried in the crypt of the Benedictine Abbey Church, the gift to the Church of this aged lady who has been a lifelong adherent of the Roman Catholic faith, are the bodies of her husband, Louis Napoleon, an exile who returned to France to become an Emperor, and who left it again to die in England, and of her beloved only son, the Prince Imperial, who died fighting for England against the Zulus.

The last public appearance of the ex-Emperess was at this church, where she

took part in the thanksgiving service at the armistice for the allied victory.

She was not born in the purple. She was the granddaughter of a descendant of the Scottish Kirkpatricks, who had set up a wine shop in Malaga. Her mother married a Spanish nobleman, who was the father of the lovely girl with regular features and wonderful golden hair, whose ambitions, for her part, were whetted by a gipsy's prophecy that her happiness "would bloom with the violets." From that time on the young Mlle. de Montijo wore violets on all occasions. Violets are the emblem of the Bonaparte family, and when the beautiful Spanish girl made the marriage which startled Europe, she wore a train of priceless lace in a design of violets, presented by the town of Liége.

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#### VOLCANO IN ERUPTION

THE volcano of Kalut, in Java, burst into eruption May 26, wiping out twenty villages in the district of Bremgat and eleven in the vicinity of Blitar and causing deaths estimated at 15,000. The volcano is one of the fourteen active volcanoes on the Island of Java. Kalut is in Eastern Java, south of Surabaya. For its size Java has more volcanoes than any other country in the world.

Kalut's last serious eruption was on May 23, 1901, when 181 persons were killed. The volcano of Galoenggen became very active in 1882, when 114 villages were destroyed and more than 4,000 lives were lost.

Much of the island was laid waste by eruptions and earthquakes in August, 1883. The loss of life then was estimated at 35,000.

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#### BELGIANS REPATRIATED

IT was announced at London early in May that of the 200,000 Belgians who had sought refuge in Great Britain in consequence of the German occupation practically all had been repatriated, the exceptions being only those who were unable to return on account of ill health.

# America's Readjustment to Peace

## Rapid Melting of Armies and Resumption of Normal Activities

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1919]

THE bringing back of American troops from abroad proceeded at an accelerated rate during May and June. A third of a million men were embarked from France in May, breaking all records, coming and going. All the men obtained by draft and from the National Guard were back in the United States by the middle of June; the regular army then began to return. It was stated by General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, that on June 5, 65 per cent. of the whole army had been demobilized. On June 3 there were remaining in France 694,745 officers and men.

Figures prepared for General March showed that 115,527 officers and 2,160,772 enlisted men, or a total of 2,276,299, had actually been discharged from service since Nov. 11, 1918, and that the total of enlisted men ordered demobilized from that date to June 1, including those actually discharged, was 2,406,000. Overseas troops returned to the United States included 46,447 officers and 1,001,134 enlisted men.

Casualties sustained by the American Army and marine forces in the war in France will exceed 310,000. Figures given out June 11 by the Statistics Branch of the General Staff made the total 318,933. It is explained that this includes about 7,000 duplications under the classification of wounded to a degree undetermined. If this statement is correct, the casualties will be reduced to 311,933.

The total of 318,933 is based on reports of the army abroad as of March 4. Up to June 11 the total casualties announced had reached 298,092. This would indicate that about 20,000 casualties remained to be announced of which about 7,000 would be duplications, which would have to be checked off.

The tables on casualties given out by the Statistics Branch of the General Staff were as follows:

	A. E. F. to Press Report as of March 1.	Announced Through June 4.
Killed in action.....	34,180	34,819
Died of wounds.....	14,729	14,309
 Total battle deaths...	48,909	49,128
Died of disease.....	21,159	123,549
Died of other causes.....	3,296	4,653
 Total dead .....	73,364	77,330
Wounded severely .....	80,130	.....
Wounded slightly .....	110,544	.....
Wounded, degree undetermined .....	*46,461	.....
 Total wounded .....	*237,135	210,785
Taken prisoner .....	4,434	4,762
Missing in action.....	†4,000	2,913
 Grand total .....	*318,933	295,790

\*Contains a duplication of about 7,000.  
†Approximate.

### LOSSES IN THE SERVICE

Of the aviation casualties of the American Army in France, 50 per cent. of the total was in men killed, according to figures revealed by the War Department on June 5. This was a considerably higher percentage of killed as compared with lesser casualties than is disclosed by the corresponding reports of the French and British aviation services.

Taking the total of killed, wounded, and missing for each nation as 100 per cent., the proportion of American, British, and French air service casualties in these three classes is disclosed as follows:

American casualties: Killed, 509, or 50 per cent. of total; wounded, 241, or 23 per cent.; missing, 277, or 27 per cent. of actual casualties of American airmen.

British casualties: Killed, 2,680, or 36 per cent.; wounded, 2,988, or 40 per cent.; missing, 1,837, or 24 per cent. of British total.

French casualties: Killed, 1,945, or 31 per cent.; wounded, 2,922, or 48 per cent.; miss-

ing, 1,461, or 23 per cent. of French total. Total for the three services: Killed, 5,134, or 35 per cent.; wounded, 6,151, or 41 per cent.; missing, 3,575, or 24 per cent.

The killed included training casualties and deaths from accidents; the missing included also prisoners. The strength of the air service of the army still overseas on June 5 was 27,084, as compared with 15,580 in this country.

#### CLEMENCY TO PRISONERS

The General Staff of the Army authorized the statement May 20 that the Special Clemency Board appointed to review cases of men still remaining in confinement had made a complete or partial remission of sentences in 91 per cent. of the cases considered.

From Feb. 25 to April 25 the board passed upon 2,857 cases, of which 7 involved life sentences. About 2,100 cases remained for action April 25. It was expected that the work of the board would be completed by June 1.

The original sentences of confinement in the 2,850 cases not involving a life term totaled 21,411 years. After the remission made by the board the aggregate confinement was 4,819 years. Reduction in confinement sentences, therefore, was 78 per cent.

The average sentences before and after remission were: Original sentence—7 years, 6 months. After remission—1 year, 8 months.

Unexecuted sentences of confinement were remitted in 918 cases, or nearly one-third of those considered. The number of men recommended for restoration to duty, or authorized to apply for restoration, was 145. The number recommended for discharge without designation as to honorable or dishonorable was 240.

To April 25 seven cases involving life terms were considered by the board. In three cases sentences were reduced.

#### SURPLUS MATERIAL SOLD

The War Department announced May 24 that it had disposed of surplus material valued at \$236,130,000 at a price representing about 88 per cent. of the original cost of the material involved. The value of total surplus material, as estimated when the office of Director of Sales was created on Jan. 17, 1919, was \$1,931,500,000.

The following table gives the figures by departments:

Bureau.	Estimated Total Surplus.	Sale to Date.
Air Service, aircraft production .....	\$62,000,000	\$1,500,000
Air Service, military aeronautics..	85,000,000	500,000
Chemical warfare...	6,000,000	.....
Construction .....	2,000,000	800,000
Military railways...	126,000,000	71,100,000
Ordnance .....	300,000,000	47,600,000
Purchase and storage .....	1,350,000,000	114,600,000
Signal Corps.....	500,000	30,000
Total .....	\$1,931,500,000	\$236,130,000

The problem which had to be met was, in most cases, to create a peace-time market for war-time commodities. For example, there were in storage 15,000,000 hand grenades and an equal number of rifle grenades, while the Ordnance Department had on hand 32,000,000 cartridge cases—long, slender brass cylinders. The market for the hand grenades has been found by converting them into dime savings banks, and the assistance of aircraft producers is being enlisted in disposing of the cartridge cases.

#### COST OF WAR

General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, said May 17 that the military program had cost the United States \$21,294,000,000 in excess of the normal expenditures during the period of the war.

"We have had an estimate made of expenditures of the United States for the entire period of the war," he said, "and the figures indicate that the amount spent by all departments is \$23,363,000,000. An estimate of the normal expenditures of the Government is placed at \$2,069,000,000, leaving \$21,294,000,000 as the war expenditures. Of the total the War Department has spent, roughly, \$14,000,000,000, about two-thirds of the entire amount spent by the entire United States."

#### NAVAL PERSONNEL

Secretary Daniels, on June 4, ordered reduction of the naval personnel to 250,000 men or less by July 1. Commandants of all shore stations and districts were ordered to discharge immediately every man who could possibly be spared

without impairing the efficiency of the navy. The Secretary called attention to the fact that he ordered a similar reduction before he left recently for Europe, and officials inferred that the former order was not carried out with the alacrity the Secretary had expected. On June 1 there were approximately 277,000 men in the navy, of whom about 125,000 were at shore stations.

Operation of the Marine and Seamen's Division of the War Risk Bureau, which will be discontinued, now that the dangers from submarines and mines are over, resulted in a profit of more than \$17,000,000 to the Government without impairment of the \$50,000,000 sinking fund provided by Congress. The division will return to the Treasury more than \$67,000,000.

#### CHANGE IN NAVAL PROGRAM

Abandonment of the proposed new three-year naval program, calling for the construction of ten additional battleships and ten additional scout cruisers, was recommended by Secretary Daniels on May 27, before the House Naval Affairs Committee. He said that, as the United States had initiated the League of Nations, it should show its faith in the covenant by doing nothing in the way of naval construction until after the League had met and decided as to the future armament of the nations.

Mr. Daniels said that all the nations engaged in the war against Germany had abandoned their naval programs with the signing of the armistice, except that Great Britain had produced one composite ship, stopping work on three others. He explained that he would not have asked for the second three-year program last session had the League of Nations covenant been agreed upon then.

It was announced on June 3 that twelve dreadnaught battleships would be placed out of commission and probably eventually broken up for junk or used as targets by more modern vessels, under plans that were being worked out by the Navy Department. The ships are of the mixed battery type and were not considered to be of any value against the latest type of fighting craft.

Four of the battleships, the historic

squadron comprising the Oregon, Indiana, Iowa, and Massachusetts, had already been relegated to the scrap heap. The remaining eight, apparently doomed to the same fate, are the Kearsarge, Kentucky, Illinois, Alabama, Wisconsin, Maine, Missouri, and Ohio.

The twelve vessels, built between 1893 and 1901, represent a total expenditure for hulls and machinery alone of more than \$90,000,000. When placed out of commission they will release for other duty approximately 10,000 enlisted men and nearly 400 officers.

With these twelve ships stricken from the navy register, the fleet will comprise forty dreadnaughts and predreadnaughts, twenty-nine of them of the most modern type and eleven of slightly older class, but still formidable units, all of them of the "all big-gun" type of construction.

The Naval Appropriation bill, as reported to the House on June 12, carried a total of \$601,518,764.85. This was \$375,000,000 less than the estimates submitted by Secretary Daniels and \$120,000,000 less than the amount carried in the bill as it passed the House last session.

#### PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Enactment of legislation to create a permanent public employment service was recommended in a letter sent May 30 by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson to Representative J. M. C. Smith, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, and Senator Kenyon, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor.

Mr. Wilson asked that the United States Employment Service, developed during the war, be continued as a permanent bureau of the Department of Labor, in charge of a director general, to be appointed by the President. He also recommended the establishment of a system of public employment offices operated by the States and co-operating with the Federal service.

Under this plan the Federal Government would contribute funds to the States for the maintenance of their offices, which would operate under standard rules and regulations, the national service handling labor clearance be-

tween States. A program along these lines was agreed upon at the conference of Governors held in March to discuss reconstruction problems.

#### RETURN OF WIRE SYSTEMS

Postmaster General Burleson announced on June 5 that he had ordered the return of the actual "control of operations" of wire systems to the companies owning them. His statement was in part as follows:

I feel it my duty now to return the actual control of operations to the companies. Some days ago I directed the necessary orders to be prepared to accomplish this and have today issued same. These orders do not affect questions of rates and finance with which the Congress may determine to deal. The rates now in force and the financial relations between the Government and the companies, and the order of Oct. 2, 1918, prohibiting discrimination because of union affiliations, will continue unless Congress in its wisdom may decide to change them or the "emergency" is terminated by the proclamation of peace.

By the action now taken, however, the wire companies resume actual control of operations of their respective properties and are free to formulate and put into effect their own policies unrestricted by Government control, which is to continue in any case a few weeks, and thus be able to prepare themselves for a complete resumption of the management of their properties.

A strike by the telegraph operators was begun two days before they were returned to their "owners for operation," but the lines were not seriously interrupted. Congress on June 18 voted the return of the telegraph and telephone properties to private control.

#### CHARGES OF A STEEL COMBINE

Charges that the steel interests, led by the United States Steel Corporation, were endeavoring to create a situation where prices would be maintained at inflated levels with the possibility of going higher instead of lower, as the demands of reconstruction work became heavier, were made May 24 by Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, after six steel companies had submitted identical bids on 200,000 tons of steel rails at the figure which the steel men agreed upon recently with the Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce.

Mr. Hines said that he found himself

forced to accept the bids, as the need for the rails was imperative, but he stated that the action was taken "with emphatic disapproval of the prices and the manner in which they have been established."

#### THE VICTORY LOAN

Secretary Glass May 26 announced that approximately 12,000,000 persons bought Victory Loan bonds, and that the subscriptions to the loan amounted to \$5,249,908,300. This represented an oversubscription of \$749,908,300. One-third of the entire loan was taken by the New York Federal Reserve Bank district, whose quota was \$1,350,000,000. The subscriptions from the New York district aggregated \$1,762,684,900, an oversubscription of \$412,684,900, or 30.57 per cent., and nearly as great as the total subscription in the Boston and Philadelphia districts.

Nearly 60 per cent. of the loan, or \$2,663,154,850, was taken by those who subscribed for not in excess of \$10,000 each. Subscriptions by districts, after allowing for allocation of credit from one district to another, were as follows:

District.	Quota.	Subscription.	P. C.
New York	\$1,350,000,000	\$1,762,684,900	130.55
Chicago	652,500,000	772,046,550	118.32
Boston	375,000,000	425,159,950	113.38
Philadelphia	375,000,000	422,756,100	112.73
Minneapolis	157,500,000	176,114,850	111.82
Cleveland	450,000,000	496,750,650	110.39
St. Louis	195,000,000	210,431,950	107.91
Richmond	210,000,000	225,146,850	107.21
S. Francisco	301,500,000	319,120,800	105.84
Kansas City	195,000,000	197,989,100	101.53
Atlanta	144,000,000	143,032,050	99.34
Dallas	94,500,000	87,504,250	92.60
Treasury	.....	11,140,300	.....

Grand total \$4,500,000,000 \$5,249,908,300 114.66

#### RAILROAD DEFICIT

According to an estimate submitted to the House by Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, on May 24, the Government will require \$1,200,000,000 to cover the 1918 deficit in the operation of railroads and meet the requirements in 1919.

The deficits, Mr. Hines said, do not represent actual loss to the Government, as the railroads are obligated to repay amounts temporarily tied up in working capital and betterments. The aggregate loss to the Government for 1918 and for

the first four months of 1919, Mr. Hines said, was \$486,000,000, which therefore may be concluded as the cost to the Government of its operation of the railroads up to May 1, 1919.

#### ARMY OF OCCUPATION

A steadily increasing tension was noted in the Coblenz zone held by the American Army. Street clashes grew in frequency, and as many as six American soldiers lost their lives and about an equal number of Germans. As a consequence, military regulations were made much stricter. The growing intractability of the German civilian population was attributed to the anger felt at the alleged severity of the peace terms.

The Staff of the American Army authorized the statement June 15th that it was ready to move into Germany. All

preparations down to the last detail had been made. Three divisions, the First, Second, and Third, in full fighting strength and equipment, were ready to march ahead, with the Fourth and Fifth Divisions ready for lines of communication work. Full supplies, rations, and ammunition were available at a moment's notice, and as for motor equipment, perhaps no three divisions ever had so much motor transportation at hand as the First, Second, and Third now have. If the advance is made, two railroads are available for our use, and they will be heavily guarded to prevent any mischief by Germans behind our front line. A complete plan for the advance, with computation of the number of kilometers to be moved each day, had been drawn up, but was held secret under Marshal Foch's orders.

## Switzerland in Wartime

THE greatest troubles which Switzerland faced during the war were not those on her borders, but those that sprang up within her own land. For the Swiss Republic in general—and Zurich in particular—was honeycombed with agents, spies, and propagandists of the Central Empires and with refugees and escaped prisoners from the belligerent countries. Besides, there were various factions among the Swiss people themselves, for no matter how strictly neutral the Swiss Government was, it would have been asking the superhuman of the 5,000,000 inhabitants to keep silent during the four years that war was raging on their borders. And so there were the pro-allies, the pro-Germans, the pacifists, the labor party; there was ex-King Constantine holding court in Switzerland and receiving all kinds of help and advice from his brother-in-law, Kaiser Wilhelm, as to how to recover his throne in Athens, and, by doing this, making serious trouble for the Swiss Government that was giving him shelter and protection; and there were a great many other undesirables swarming all over this little republic, repaying her

hospitality with treachery and riots.

From the first months of the war the wounded of all nations flocked to the Swiss mountains to recuperate, for Switzerland gave the warmest welcome, the best nursing, and the most accessible refuge to thousands of sick and wounded prisoners.

The arrival of trains at Zurich with interned prisoners was so managed that the two factions came at different hours. The French, for instance, arrived at 6:45 A. M. They were taken to a hotel, given breakfast and all kinds of presents, and then sent on to Engelberg.

Then, perhaps at 8:32, another train brought a number of German soldiers. These were conducted to another hotel, and after breakfast taken to various places on Lake Lucerne. A German soldier wrote home: "A more beautiful demonstration of human pity and real neutrality than this heartfelt welcome given to the French, German, Belgian, and English soldiers by the Swiss population is not thinkable. It is neutrality that shows no partiality, that cares for all unfortunate ones with the same charity and love."

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

### AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

THE events which surrounded the murder of the Emir of Afghanistan and those immediately following it seem to have taken on a somewhat different aspect by the accounts given the press at Bombay by a British engineer on May 29. These accounts contradict the official information published last month that the eldest son had become Emir and had punished the murderers of his father, including his uncle, Nasrullah Khan.

According to the engineer, whose name is J. W. McLoughlin, and who just managed to escape from Jelalabad with his life, the leaders of the plot against the late Emir were not only his brother, Nasrullah, but also his third son, Amanullah Khan, who is now mentioned in the dispatches as the new Emir, and three officers of the royal bodyguard, to each of whom had been promised a daughter of the Emir in marriage. The fulfillment of that promise, it is reported, was continually deferred, which made the conspirators believe that the late Emir was suspicious of the plot, so they hastened to carry it out. After the murder the body was buried on the golf links which his Majesty had loved so well.

The new Emir of Afghanistan, in assuming the throne in succession to his father, who was assassinated, issued the following proclamation:

“In the name of God, most merciful and compassionate.

“O high-minded nation!

“O courageous army!

“This weak creature of the Creator of the Universe, viz, your Emir, Emir Amanullah, gives you joyful tidings that, thank God—again thank God—the Government of this great nation of ours and the sacred soil of our beloved country

has in a very admirable way remained peaceful and safe from the horrors of such a disturbance as was calculated to make our enemies—near and far—happy and joyful, and our friends much concerned. And this by the grace of God.

“Listen, the facts are as follows:

“You have already been informed by proclamations, farmans, and notices of the details of what has happened.

“The happy news now is this. The bold and courageous army of our Government at Jalalabad displayed the greatest sense of honor and courage in the discharge of all their obligations. On Thursday, the 25th, Jamadi-ul-Awal 1337 Hijra (February 27, 1919,) all the officers and soldiers who had accompanied his late Majesty, my father, the martyr, assembled on the parade ground of the cantonment at Jalalabad, swore allegiance to me, with the band playing, a salute of guns, and great rejoicings.

“O high-minded nation of Afghanistan! Let us offer thousands of thanks and praises most humbly to the imperishable God of the Earth and Heavens with our burning hearts and bleeding eyes that He has saved our sublime Government from the horrors of commotion and confusion and has inspired our Islamic Government with more strength, power, and freedom.

“O courageous army of the Government of Afghanistan! I offer thousands of thanks and endless praise to God, the Most holy—Glory be to Him—that your soul consuming bullets and your heart-piercing steel spearheads which were kept ready for the protection of the honor of the faith and nation of our country have by the grace of God been prevented from being used for our self-destruction and against each other.”

After Amanullah had seized the throne he is said to have sent a mission of students to Turkey. He has denied send-

ing the tribesmen over the frontier, which subsequently resulted in the advance of Indian troops under General Barrett and the bombing by airplanes of Afghan mountain strongholds. On May 26 the India Office issued a statement of frontier conditions which contained the text of a letter received from the Afghan Commander in Chief, reading as follows:

Sir: As regards the outbreak of war between Afghanistan and Britain I have the honor to inform you that British officers commenced an unlawful war without any declaration of war on any side, and by this aggressive step inflicted heavy losses on the civil population and army of Afghanistan by throwing bombs from airplanes.

I am informed by his Majesty the King of the independent kingdom of Afghanistan that his Majesty has received a letter from his Excellency the Viceroy, and in consequence of that I am ordered to suspend war, thus unlawfully begun by your side, until further orders.

You are accordingly informed that war has been suspended until a final decision has been reached by correspondence between his Afghan Majesty and his Excellency the Viceroy.

This letter was regarded as insolent; nevertheless, hostilities ceased, and the Afghans in June withdrew into their own country and began negotiations looking to complete reparation and resumption of amicable relations.

In India the trouble on the Afghan frontier seemed to have had no marked effect, and the lawless demonstrations in April against the Rowlatt criminal law bills were not repeated. Meanwhile, the new liberal form of government was actively debated throughout the empire, and on May 28 an exhaustive Blue Book was issued on the subject.

According to this document the local Governments are opposed to the diarchical form of provincial government and have submitted an alternative scheme; the Government, on the other hand, suggested various modifications. The Blue Book surveys the effect of the Montagu-Chelmsford report submitted last year incorporating the scheme for reforms amounting almost to an autonomous State. To sum up the effect of the report on responsible political bodies:

The extreme Indian party desires to

give the Legislature complete control over the budget and to make the Governor a purely constitutional Governor in relation to his Indian Ministers. On the other hand, the moderates accept the principle of dualism in Government, while pressing for changes in detail, carrying the new plan further than that outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, but not so as to impair the relations between the empire and the Crown.

### THE BALKANS

Deductions drawn from the text of the treaty of peace presented to the Austrian delegates at St. Germain on June 2 by the various Governments of the Balkan States and those contiguous to them in the former Empires of Russia and Austria-Hungary caused them, in certain cases, to change their methods of propaganda; very often the literature issued by the missions of these various Governments in Paris shows a curious disregard of what is being issued in their capitals and of what events are actually taking place in their territories. Notable exceptions to these inconsistencies are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Greece.

The chief cause for the frontier quarrels of these nations is not so much that the nationals of one are claimed by the territorial entity of another, but that the nationals were planted so far from the root of their nationality. The Republic of Eastern Ukrainia is disputing Eastern Galicia with the Poles because their co-nationals, the Ruthenians, years ago migrated from Little Russia and established themselves at Lemberg and on a narrow strip of land on the Duroiecz, wedged in between the Poles on the north and the Slovaks on the south.

The representatives of the republic in Paris complain that their peasant commander, General Petliura, has been forced to defend this region at the expense of allowing Ukrainia itself, with its capital, Kiev, to fall into the hands of the Russian Bolsheviks. They vehemently declare that there are no Bolsheviks among the Ukrainians themselves. Meanwhile, the Ukrainians induced the Moldavians in Bessarabia to forswear their Rumanian nationality

and to demand their adhesion to Little Russia, which means Ukrainia.

In Transylvania the Magyars declare through Paris agents that they and not the Rumanians were the original inhabitants of the country. The propaganda at Sofia, dropping all claim to Dobrudja on account of its present alleged ethnic and social aspect, declares that it must belong to Bulgaria because it was the cradle of the Bulgar race—thereby admitting by inference the non-Slavonic origin of that race. In Macedonia the Bulgars have turned their propaganda toward petitions for the autonomy of that disputed region. Meanwhile the Rumanian Army on the Theiss and the Czechoslovak Army on its right have awaited the pleasure of the Peace Council in the further prosecution of their operations against Bela Kun and the Magyar Bolsheviks.

**BULGARIA.**—On June 2 the Bulgarian Alliance in Berne, Switzerland, denied by documentary evidence the construction placed on a recent report of the International Red Cross that said report accused the Bulgarians of atrocities against the Greek population. The denial, which was conveyed in a special dispatch to The New York Times signed by Mitchell and Petroff, respectively President and Secretary of the Alliance, added:

Bulgaria is again isolated and her enemies take advantage by blackening her before the world and thus win favor at the Peace Conference. Their aim, as The London Times once said, is to besmirch her with so much mud, hoping some of it would stick. Yes, Bulgaria is earnestly awaiting another Carnegie Inquiry Commission.

On June 6 a dispatch sent out by The Associated Press from Copenhagen and credited to "The Balkan News Agency" declared that part of the Bulgarian Army had been mobilized and was marching against the Serbian frontier. The next day this report was officially denied by the Bulgarian Legation at Washington, and the fact that the Allies were in possession of all the railways of Bulgaria and other circumstances seemed to bear out this denial.

The Society for the Defense of the Rights of Macedonians has its head-

quarters in Lausanne, Switzerland. On May 29 it sent a memorandum to the Council of Five at Paris which hardly mentioned its Bulgar connection. The memorandum was introduced by the following summary of the contents:

Protest against the present sharing of Macedonia between her neighbors because the Greeks are only a minority there and the Serbians hardly exist. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants (90 per cent.) desires the creation of an autonomous State under the protection of the Allied Great Powers, organized like the Swiss cantons. The autonomy of Macedonia was made popular by the home revolutionary organization and was admitted by Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia at the time of their ultimatum to Turkey in 1912.

How the Bulgarian Government deceived the allied statesmen at the time of Bulgaria's entry into the war was revealed through an admission made in June by Stephen Panaretov, Bulgarian Minister at Washington. Commenting on a published letter of his in The New York Times, Gordon Gordon-Cumming, a diplomat at Washington, recalled the fateful weeks of September and October, 1915, when the Allies were still trying to get Bulgaria to enter the war on their side, and when all warnings that Bulgaria was about to betray them were suppressed. When the Serbians realized that they could get no help from the Allies, they massed their troops under Field Marshal Putnik at Pirot, the frontier town facing Sofia, where they could, in an emergency, sweep across to the Bulgarian capital and break up the Bulgarian mobilization before the troops had time to concentrate. Mr. Gordon-Cumming continues:

The day arrived when King Ferdinand signed the decree of mobilization. The Serbian Government telegraphed to London asking permission to attack. Not only was permission refused, but Serbia was categorically forbidden to break the Balkan peace, and was told that if she did so the Allies would leave her to her fate. At the same time Sir Edward Grey sent for M. Boshkovich, the Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James's, and informed him that the Bulgarian mobilization was not directed against Serbia. M. Boshkovich communicated this extraordinary statement to M. Pashitch, the Serbian Prime Minister. The latter could only assume that some secret

understanding existed between the Entente Powers and Bulgaria, of which Serbia had not been informed. He therefore decided to obey the instructions of the Allies, and gave instructions that, in order to prevent the possibility of any frontier incident, the Serbian Army should be withdrawn five kilometers from the boundary line. Having thus tied Serbia hand and foot, the Allies could only look on helpless while her throat was cut. Forty-eight hours later 400,000 Bulgarians stormed across the eastern frontier, while 300,000 Germans and Austrians attacked on the Danube front.

Up to now Sir Edward Grey's action in assuring M. Boshkovitch that the Bulgarian mobilization was not directed against Serbia has always been a mystery to me. M. Panaretov has now provided the explanation. The Government, he states, gave out that the mobilization was ordered to defend Bulgarian neutrality and prevent Germany and Austria trying to reach Constantinople across Bulgarian territory and further to enable Bulgaria to promptly attack Turkey, as the ally of the Entente.

It is incredible that, in view of their knowledge of the tortuous methods of Bulgarian policy and the warning they had received from the Balkan capitals, Entente statesmen should have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by the astute M. Radoslavoff, but the fact remains that they did so.

**GREECE**—Although on May 21, M. Spyromilios, a Deputy in the Greek Chamber from Northern Epirus, (Southern Albania,) submitted to President Wilson in Paris an appeal for the union of his district with Greece, yet the press of Athens as late as the end of that month seemed much more interested in what was taking place outside of the Balkans—in Smyrna and the Dodecanese Islands, off the southwestern coast of Asia Minor—except in so far as a movement had been started by the majority Greeks in Constantinople to have that city self-determined. Here, out of a population of 1,125,000, there are said to be over 700,000 Greeks.

On May 15 an extensive naval concentration was begun by the Allies at Smyrna, which followed out the decree of the Council of Five to give the mandate to Greece. A landing was effected with the loss of 300, and Greek troops occupied the city and district. On May 29 a Greek High Commissioner was placed in charge.

Simultaneously, the Italians who had

already landed on the southern coast of Asia Minor made a second landing at Sokia, fifty miles southeast of Smyrna, for the same reason—to preserve the peace. On the protest of the Turkish authorities the Italian troops at Sokia were withdrawn on May 27. On taking possession of Smyrna, the Commander of the Army of Occupation, Colonel Zafirion, issued a proclamation which began as follows:

I have to inform you that by order of my Government, acting in concert with the Allies, I am proceeding to the military occupation of Smyrna and its surrounding district. This occupation has for its end the protection of the population and the preservation of public order. It in no wise anticipates the decision of the Conference of Peace on the subject of the fate of these regions, which for 3,000 years have been connected by so many bonds with Greece.

Following the attempt of the Italian military authorities to prevent the people of the Dodecanesus from declaring their union with Greece on Easter Sunday the delegates of these people have not only sent letters of protest to the Council of Five, but, on May 18, dispatched one to the King of Italy quoting President Wilson to the following effect: "If we do not render justice to others we cannot render justice to ourselves."

These islands, with their preponderant Greek population, had been in the possession of Turkey for centuries, when Italy occupied them during the Turko-Italian war of 1911-12, and by the terms of the Treaty of Ouchy, which ended that war, was to hold them until the Turks had entirely withdrawn from Libia Italiana, in North Africa. This the Turks never did, and the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, gave the islands to Italy, for at that date Greece, under King Constantine, was turning toward Germany and Turkey was already Germany's ally.

Although the Greek appellation connotes twelve islands, in reality there are over fourteen; the largest is Rhodes, with an area of 550 square miles and a population of 35,000, 20,000 of whom are Greeks and 8,000 Turks. On the other islands the population ranges from 10,000 on Cos down to a few score on others, which, beginning with 8,000 on Scar-

panto, decrease on Patmos, once the place of the Apostle John's exile; Leros, Stampalia, Piscopi or Tilos, Calimno, Cassos, Kalkia, Nisiros, and Simi.

**RUMANIA**—In the week of May 30 King Ferdinand and Queen Marie made the tour of Transylvania. Both addressed the people at various towns and villages. "Everywhere," says the Bucharest official announcement, "the royal couple are being received enthusiastically. All the towns and villages are flying flags and giving holidays in their honor."

In regard to the removal of obstacles to Jews securing naturalization all that has transpired is the following dispatch from Bucharest, dated May 31:

A decree has been issued modifying previous laws relating to the naturalization of Jews in Rumania, it was announced by the Rumanian Press Bureau today.

Jews desiring to acquire rights as Rumanian citizens, according to the announcement, "will only have to express the wish in proper form." The Jewish question, the bureau says, is thus "finally settled."

### BELGIUM

The Government and press have ceased to comment on the award conveyed in the text of the Treaty of Peace with Germany of Moresnet, Eupen, and Malmedy and have reposed their claims to Limburg, that part of Zeeland south of the Schedt, and the Ghent-Terneuzen Canal on hopes at The Hague; since May 20, however, they have been agitating before the Peace Conference a claim to a part of German East Africa which Belgian troops helped to conquer and a portion of which they have since occupied. The district claimed is a 40,000 square mile area situated in the northwestern part of the former German territory, contiguous to the Belgian Congo, and bounded on the northeast and southwest respectively by Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika. According to the treaty, Great Britain, under the League of Nations, is mandatary for German East Africa.

On May 17 the Belgian Official Information Service at Washington gave out a statement by Professor Albert J. Carnoy of the University of Louvain in which it was estimated that the damage done Belgium by the Germans, including de-

struction of buildings and machinery and cash levies, amounted to \$7,600,000,000.

On May 22 the "Restitution Service" at Brussels reported that already the Germans had returned 154 carloads of machinery and tools, aggregating 1,349 tons of material, and that there were 12,059 demands remaining uncomplied with on their books.

On June 11 a delegation of American cotton growers visited Ghent and were told by the Mayor that the Municipal Council desired the city to become the cotton importation centre for Belgium, and would, to further this end, send delegates to the next Cotton Convention at New Orleans.

On the same day the Nation Belge of Brussels announced the initiative taken by several Belgian captains of industry to form a metallurgic trust with a capital of \$60,000,000 in order to hasten the reconstruction of Belgian mills and factories and to build new ones at places which promised rapid development.

In the week of June 8 the International Parliamentary Conference, the first since the Summer of 1914, met at Brussels and was opened by King Albert. In referring to the last conference he said:

Among you were then seated the delegates of Germany and Austria. Belgium then received as guests and co-laborers the members of the Imperial Parliament who, on Aug. 4, 1914, were to applaud the invasion of a neutral, pacific country, faithful to her given word.

I will not refer to the events of the last five years. The nations you represent here fought side by side with the Belgian Nation. It is due to all that this palace is again open to the delegates of free peoples, some of whom come from the other end of Europe.

On June 10 M. Masson, the Minister of War, brought to the attention of the Chamber, in the course of a debate on the language question, the attacks, under the inspiration of German propaganda, that were still being made by the Flemings against the French and the Walloons. Several Deputies cried: "It is shameful! Vive la France!" The Minister added: "It is, indeed, to be regretted that interpellations are made here to inspire discord at a time when we have need

of everybody's good-will. This episode was an echo of Germany's attempt to separate Flanders from Belgium.

### CHINA AND JAPAN

Aside from advices from China that reached Paris to the effect that several Ministers had resigned and that the resignation of the President was contemplated on account of the Shantung award to Japan, the English press of Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton, papers of which bearing the dates of the last week in May have reached here, give evidence of a wave of anti-Japanese agitation sweeping over the republic, with contemplated boycott of Japanese goods in several industrial centres. On June 11 a Tokio dispatch confirmed this situation and added that several Japanese warships had been hurried to Shanghai.

Meanwhile, in Peking, the Government of the republic is said to be drawing up a momentous document which it will present to the Paris Conference to be incorporated in the League of Nations. This document asks the nations of the League to define what those nations interested mean in "spheres of influence" in China and whether such spheres are likely to be expanded at the expense of the republic.

It cites the note John Hay, as American Secretary of State, sent the powers engaged against the Boxers on July 3, 1900; also the one sent by him to St. Petersburg and Tokio on Feb. 10, 1904, at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, both of which urged the preservation of "Chinese territorial and administrative entity," and it requests that this rule of action be made part of the great international covenant.

### EGYPT

The Sultan, on May 21, with the assistance of General Allenby, formed a new Cabinet with Mahomed Saïd Pasha as Prime Minister with the portfolio of Interior. The other portfolios are held as follows:

*Sirry Pasha.....Public Works, War, and Marine.*  
*Ziver Pasha.....Instruction.*  
*Wahba Pasha.....Finance.*  
*Ahmed Zulfikar Pasha.Justice.*

*Abdulla Heem Sabri  
 Pasha.....Agriculture.*  
*Tewfik Bey Nessim...Wakfs, (Pious Foundations).*

There was no Ministry after the resignation of Hussein Rushdi Pasha on April 23. Mahomed Saïd Pasha is a disciple of Cromer and Kitchener, and first became Prime Minister in February, 1910, after the assassination of Boutros Pasha, in whose Cabinet he had been Minister of the Interior. Rushdi Pasha succeeded him in April, 1914, when, it was said, he gave up because of the attacks made upon him by the Nationalists and lack of support from the British Foreign Office and the local British representative. Now he has the backing of Allenby and the whole British Government, which, while working out reforms for the protectorate, will not suffer revolt.

### FRANCE

The Electoral Reform Bill, which was passed by the Chamber in May by a vote of 287 to 138, was debated and amended in the Senate in the light of the Senate Commission report, the most important of whose recommendations were the abrogation of the "scrutin d'arrondissement" and the revival of the "scrutin de liste" in the Departments or States, the whole law to apply to Algeria and the colonies. This means a return to the system by which the electors of a department will vote for all the Deputies to be elected by that department, similar to the "general ticket" in the United States, in place of the system by which the electors of each arrondissement vote only for the Deputy to be elected by it. No decision was reached up to June 16 in regard to the Chamber rider in regard to admitting women to vote in local elections.

The new budget brought into the Chamber in the last week in May created a sensation throughout the country, for the idea of M. Klotz, the Finance Minister, is to tax people on their expenditures. France is freer from direct taxation than any other modern country. Since the revolution such taxes as remained were disguised in a number of ways. Critics of the proposed system say that a tax on expenditures would tend

to diminish the purchase of everything but bare necessities and so drive many industries out of business. Advocates of the system say that the product of these industries would merely be diverted from home to foreign consumption, and hence would measurably help to restore the national trade balance.

On May 24, the anniversary of Italy's entering the war, both Senate and Chamber passed resolutions by large majorities in praise of that ally's war effort, with pledges of national fraternity.

After a long debate the Chamber, on May 22, by a vote of 326 to 176, postponed further action on the Amnesty bill, as "such a law might tend to defeat the ends of justice." The reference is understood to apply, not so much to the whitewashing of Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, now an exile in Spain, and other convicted members of the "Bonnet Rouge gang" of defeatists, as to the cutting short of the present proceedings against Joseph Caillaux, the former Premier, charged with treason.

On June 13 Marcel Cachin and Emile Goude, Socialist Deputies, revealed in the Chamber the presence of a mutiny in the Black Sea fleet, which for the first time accounted for the surrender of Odessa by the Allies to the Bolsheviks without firing a shot.

A new political party called the New Democracy (La Démocratie Nouvelle) began a campaign for members during the last week in May. From its program, which is being circulated, its chief aims are to perpetuate the Clemenceau tradition and to drive out Bolshevism by making it impossible of effort. Its chief aims are "to eliminate political parasites" and "to establish a responsible and competent power governing in the spirit of free institutions." Its chief "means" are "a revision of the Constitution so that the executive power may be entirely separated from the legislative" and "administrative reform," particularly the doing away with all unnecessary formalities between cause and desired effect, in every department of the Government. Its controlling ideas embrace intelligent co-operation between the classes for the common good.

A series of strikes began June 1, principally affecting the transportation and communication of Paris with the surrounding country. On June 15 the leaders saw M. Clemenceau, the Premier, who asked them to submit their grievances in writing. His appeal to patriotism ended certain strikes. The chief cause of the trouble appeared to be the doubts of certain companies as to the general application of the new "eight-hour day law."

## ITALY

The arrival of persons and papers from Italy bringing news as late as the first week in June show that the strikes in Italy have been exaggerated in regard to their national importance, although they have revealed a growing potential energy to do great industrial damage and cause serious political rupture unless the causes be speedily removed. These causes consist of the high cost of food in the smaller industrial regions, and, in the larger places, the inability of capitalists to employ their funds productively on account of the lack of raw material and means of transportation.

According to a report made at Washington by the United States Trade Commissioner at Rome, H. C. MacLean, aside from iron, coal, and grain, Italy's crying need is for railway rolling stock, which must be re-established if imports are to receive proper distribution. The present rolling stock, which served during the war, needs to be reinstalled entirely; the small portion surrendered by the Government for commercial use shows it to be in a deplorable condition.

The Orlando Ministry resigned on the evening of June 19 following an adverse vote in the Chamber of Deputies. Premier Orlando, in announcing his resignation and that of his Cabinet, said King Victor Emmanuel had reserved decision as to acceptance.

The Chamber of Deputies had, by a vote of 259 to 78, rejected Premier Orlando's motion in favor of discussing in secret session a question of confidence that related to the foreign policy of the Government.

Before the vote Premier Orlando said, in addressing the Chamber:

"Italy's peace with Germany and Austria has been solved in a manner with which, on the whole, I feel satisfied."

Insisting on the necessity of a secret session, the Premier declared that the Government needed greater confidence and would treat his motion for a secret session as a question of confidence. The Socialists opposed this.

Premier Orlando had received a vote of confidence in the Chamber on April 28 by a vote of 302 to 40 on his stand on the Fiume question.

The fall of the Cabinet was due to the dissatisfaction growing out of the high prices of food, and the general feeling of unrest in consequence of labor conditions.

### LATIN AMERICA

As early as the middle of May there were signs that the Mexican bandit Villa, or the band of rebels faithful to his memory, was about to make the annual series of raids across the Rio Grande. On June 7 the raids began on Mexican towns and ranches occupied by Americans close to the border, and the Governor of Texas telegraphed to Washington asking that the border guard be augmented. As the Villistas advanced north the Mexican Federal troops retired to Juarez and were besieged there on June 11. Stray bullets from the Mexican side injured several Americans in the streets of El Paso. On June 14 a force of American infantry, cavalry, and artillery crossed the border, lifted the siege of Juarez, scattered the rebels with considerable loss, and then retired to United States territory. As a matter of form the Mexican Government, on June 17, protested against this "violation of Mexican sovereignty."

The threatened invasion of Nicaragua by Costa Rican troops became acute during the first week in June. Aside from the desire of President Tinoco of Costa Rica to capture the rebels who had fled to Nicaragua, it was also reported to be his desire to overthrow the Chamorro Government in Nicaragua and to re-establish that of ex-Premier Irias. On June 10 the Costa Rican representative

at Washington, Carlos Lara, made the following statement:

The fears expressed by Nicaragua are baseless and absurd, and therefore she does not need to implore the help of the American Government against Costa Rica. Let Nicaragua concentrate in her interior the nucleus of the adventurers who invaded our country and who within a few days with great energy were repulsed, routed, and driven out of Costa Rican territory by our troops, and Costa Rica will then withdraw immediately to the interior the small force that it has at present ready to protect its frontiers.

By the middle of June a revolution against the Tinoco Government was in full swing, even reaching the capital, San José. Meanwhile, American warships at Port Limon prepared to land forces should foreign interests be involved in Costa Rica.

### LIBERIA

C. D. B. King, LL.D., President-Elect and Secretary of State of the Liberian Republic, (the negro republic in Africa,) who represents his country at the Peace Congress, issued a statement in June from which the following extracts are taken:

Germany held the largest commercial interests in Liberia, but England and France are our nearest territorial neighbors. Each of these three powers had at Monrovia a Customs Receiver. On the other hand, the United States have always entertained a friendly regard for Liberia; the American Constitution has served as a model for ours, and, generally speaking, we have found co-operation and support among the people of the great Republic.

First settled in 1822, Liberia was declared a republic in 1847. The population now runs to about two millions; the State is composed of 48,000 square miles, and coffee growing is the chief industry. Diamonds have been found within our frontiers; gold has also been discovered. Dye-woods and mahogany abound.

In the case of native uprisings in distant parts of the State, in regions where the Government forces were not available, we found it necessary to protect ourselves against the claims for damage put forward by foreign merchants. We

therefore brought in a new Port of Entry act, which made it obligatory for every merchant who desired to carry on business in doubtful regions to execute a contract, under consular visa, to submit to the decision of the Liberian courts upon any question of claim arising out of material loss or damage.

In 1913 certain German merchants demanded \$80,000 from the Government of the republic for alleged losses under the conditions which I have mentioned. Although they had contracted to take all risk and to abide by the rulings of our courts, they invoked the aid of the German Government, which sent the warships Bremen, Emden, and Panther (of Agadir notoriety) to menace Monrovia. These three vessels have been sunk since by the British Navy, but in 1913 they were employed to intimidate our Government into the immediate payment of the sum claimed.

We suggested arbitration, which Germany, in view of the pressure of outside opinion, reluctantly had to accept. A Frenchman, a Liberian, and a German were duly appointed to arbitrate as to the amount to be paid to the merchants. The award was \$5,000.

After the outbreak of the war Liberia was neutral. When German commerce had been swept from the seas, German subjects on foreign territory in Africa were everywhere interned, except in Liberia. Although the Imperial Navy had tried, metaphorically, to pull down our flag in 1913, the Imperial Government was, as I pointed out to the Berlin authorities, only too glad to avail itself the following year of the protection to German citizens offered by our independence.

On April 9, 1918, a German submarine came to Monrovia. The crew boarded our revenue cutter in the harbor and ordered us to cease all wireless and cable operations. They next sent a note ashore by some captive sailors from Sierra Leone, pointing out that we were at the mercy of German guns, and that the Allies had deserted Liberia as they had deserted all the other small nations in time of need. The note demanded that the telegraph stations should be de-

stroyed and that French and British subjects should at once be handed over to the submarine commander. We were given until 4 P. M. to reply. As the town was threatened with bombardment, a Cabinet meeting was called by the President.

It was realized by everyone present that we were indeed at the mercy of the guns of the submarine. We, nevertheless, maintained a firm attitude, and decided to refuse to deliver up any allied citizens. We declined also to destroy the wireless installation.

When the Germans became acquainted with our stand, they sank the patrol vessel. Then they bombarded the wireless station. After firing twenty rounds, the submarine was herself attacked by a British merchant ship, the "Burutu," which had been attracted by the noise. This timely intervention forced the Germans to abandon their designs.

Germany forced many Liberian subjects in the Cameroons to join the Imperial Army. Several hundred were, as a matter of fact, cruelly murdered for refusing to fight the British.

## NEWFOUNDLAND

On May 23 the former Finance Minister of Newfoundland, M. P. Cashin, formed a new Ministry, made up as follows:

Prime Minister and Finance Minister, M. P. Cashin.  
 Minister of Justice, A. B. Morine.  
 Colonial Secretary, J. R. Bennett.  
 Minister of Public Works, William Woodford.  
 Minister of Shipping, J. C. Crosbie.  
 Minister of Fisheries, J. C. Stone.  
 Ministers without portfolios, A. Hickman, W. J. Ellis, and A. W. Piccott.

## PERSIA

Persia, on account of her Russian and British spheres of influence and German propaganda with Turkish aid at Teheran, played a potential rather than an active rôle in the war, but her interests in the settlement at Paris are none the less important to the reconstruction of the Near East.

Through Mr. Tagizadeh, a member of the Persian Parliament, she addressed a memorandum to the Peace Conference

on May 18 covering her aspirations. This memorandum declares that the occupation of Persian territory by the troops of the Allies is no longer necessary; that all illegal, reactionary treaties, obligations, &c., forced upon the Teheran Government in the past should be canceled. (One of the most harmful arrangements is declared to be the Anglo-Russian agreements of 1907 and 1916.)

After reciting the obligations of the world to Persia, the document asks for a loan from the League of Nations—\$100,000,000 for debts and "State reorganization."

### SCANDINAVIA

On May 26 the Swedish delegates at Paris handed a note to the Peace Conference in regard to the Government's claim to the Aland Islands, lying between Sweden and Finland, at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia. This note reads:

The Royal Government feels that it must insist upon the conference taking into consideration as soon as possible the question of the right of the population of the Aland Islands to decide by a plebiscite, carried out with the necessary guarantees, whether the archipelago is to belong to Sweden or to Finland.

The Royal Government presumes that on account of the principles expressed at the Peace Conference Sweden will be allowed to take part in the discussion of this question. It is needless to add that the Royal Government greatly wishes that if the plebiscite gives the islands to Sweden measures will be taken to prevent the construction of military buildings in the archipelago, and also to prevent attacks on the archipelago by another power.

On May 26 the Swedish Parliament granted full national suffrage to women, who had already enjoyed municipal suffrage since 1909.

On June 16 the Swedish Congress of Independent Socialists at Stockholm voted, 186 to 22, to join the "Third International of Moscow," and adopted a resolution favoring Bolshevik measures.

On June 10 the Norwegian Labor Party in extraordinary conference at Christiania declared its adhesion to the "Third International of Moscow," and passed a resolution insisting that the Norwegian Government establish the right of asylum

for political refugees. Both declaration and resolution were telegraphed to Lenin at Moscow.

### SWITZERLAND

The question of the admission of the Austrian Crown Land of Vorarlberg was before the Federal Council. On May 11 45,500 Vorarlbergers had voted by a plebiscitum to join Switzerland, and 11,000 had registered against the project. In Switzerland the question was referred by the Federal Council to a plebiscitum of the Swiss cantons interested. Vorarlberg, which has an area of 1,004 square miles, of which 386 square miles are productive, extends south from Lake Constance along the right bank of the Rhine valley, forming the most western territory of Austria. The question has arisen in Switzerland whether the Vorarlbergers, who are distinctly Teutonic, shall be added to the already large number of German Swiss citizens.

The sensational trial of twenty-four German General Staff agents who attempted during the war to transmit bombs and infernal machines and dangerous bacilli from Germany via Switzerland to Italy ended June 18 after a fortnight's duration. The chief culprits, the German Consul General and Consul in Zurich, and the German Military Attaché in Berne, and also other German officials who employed these anarchistic agents, were tried, though they had escaped to Germany.

The bomb plot originated in 1915, but was not discovered till 1918 by the police of Zurich, where the trial took place. The bombs, infernal machines, explosives, and dangerous bacilli were conveyed to Switzerland from Germany by German diplomatic couriers, and twenty-two boxes of German ammunition manufactured at Linden and Hanover were discovered early last March in Berne, buried near the offices of the German Military Attaché. These offices, as the Swiss Procurator General remarked at the trial, were closed, as if by chance, a few days later. He added:

"It is difficult to imagine a graver charge against the German General

Staff, which has spent millions on its work of terrorism."

Among the terrorist German agents were two Hindus named Chattopadhyaya and Hafis, who managed to escape to Germany before the trial, and who were condemned in contumaciam to two and a half and four years' penal servitude respectively and fines. The Swiss Prosecutor General stigmatized this German plot as certainly the greatest infringement of Swiss neutrality committed during the war, whereby the Germans risked embroiling Switzerland with Italy and causing her serious internal trouble.

In November, 1917, the Germans actually managed secretly to organize in different parts of Switzerland two factories for manufacturing explosives, and their products were so powerful that had they exploded accidentally while being conveyed about by these German agents, all Zurich or Berne might have been blown up. Altogether, of the twenty-four accused, seven were condemned. But the prime instigators of the plot, being all German officials and in Germany, could not be brought to trial.

A strange coincidence which occurred in Zurich a few hours after the sentence was delivered shows how far-reaching are the results of German plotting. Large Socialist crowds, demonstrating in memory of Rosa Luxemburg, were informed that a Workmen's Union secretary, just returned from Germany, was arrested and imprisoned. The mob immediately marched to the prison and attacked the building, smashing it. French-Swiss troops were sent to Zurich to keep order.

## SPAIN

Election of 412 Deputies took place in Spain on June 1, that of 180 Senators (omitting those 180 who are either Senators by their own right or life Senators nominated by the Crown) on June 15, resulted, according to almost complete returns, as follows:

	Chamber.	Senate.
Conservatives .....	233	79
Liberals .....	110	47
Reformists .....	12	..
Republicans .....	16	..
Regionalists .....	15	..
Carlists .....	5	..
Independents .....	6	1

As the elections were in charge of the Minister of the Interior of the Coalition Government of Señor Maura a strengthening of that Government was to be expected, the only exception being, as far as the Chamber is concerned, in an increase of the Catalonia Regional representation, which, led by Señor Cambo, is pledged to autonomy for that province. For the Senate, the Conservatives of the Maura and La Cierva (Minister of Finance) groups received 32 seats; the Conservatives of the Dato group, represented in the Government by a minority, 47 seats, while the Liberals of Señor Romanones, represented in the Government by Señor Gonzales Hontoria, and those of Señor Prieto, represented by Viscount Matamala, also received a total of 47.

It was reported that the Government took extraordinary measures to secure a peaceful election, on account of the threats made by the Confederacion General del Trabajo, directed by a powerful Bolshevik syndicate at Barcelona, to prevent the voting, and, by a general strike, to demoralize the Government.



# Hungary Under Communist Rule

## Bela Kun's Capital Surrounded by Hostile Armies—Organization of an Anti-Bolshevist Government

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

LAST month's narrative of Hungarian affairs under Bolshevik rule left Budapest practically surrounded by hostile armies, which had been closing in upon the Communist Capital. On May 13 it was announced from Vienna that the advance of these armies would not be pressed. At the same time it became apparent that the Czech Army, one of the allied units advancing on Budapest, had suffered a reverse at the hands of the Hungarian Reds. The Czechoslovaks, too, about sixty miles north of Budapest, had lost some ground.

Meanwhile Hungarian propaganda was busy. On June 4 Budapest dispatches declared that a Soviet Republic had been proclaimed in several towns occupied by the Czechoslovaks, and that in Lipio armed proletarians had seized the railway lines, thus endangering the retreat of the Czechoslovaks. The military situation of the Czechoslovaks at this time was indeed serious, as stated by their French commander. It was also admitted on June 5 by Dr. Irobar, Czech Minister at Prague, that the Hungarian Bolshevik Army had struck in Slovakia with unexpected success, and that the Czech forces in that region were retreating. The richest districts were in the hands of the Magyars, whose advance, it was believed, could be checked only by the assistance of French troops. According to the estimate of Dr. Irobar the damage caused by this offensive exceeded 1,000,000,000 crowns. The Hungarian Communists had been stirring up the Slovaks against the Czechs, pointing out that the Czechs refused to give the Slovaks autonomy and asserting that the latter had not been fairly treated. They added that for a thousand years the Slovaks and Hungarians had lived together and should continue to do so.

Patriotism was at a white heat in

Prague. The pride of the Czechs had been hurt by the defeat of their legionaries, who had been regarded as the world's greatest soldiers. Though the Czech soldiers were generally Socialists, there was no indication that they had been contaminated by Bolshevism. Ninety battalions of troops were sent from the neighborhood of Prague into Slovakia in an attempt to save the situation. Trains were leaving Prague for the East crowded with Czech troops. A dispatch from Pressburg stated that Slovakia had been placed under a military dictatorship.

Meanwhile the Hungarian Reds won further successes. The North Hungarian town of Kaschau was taken after two days' fighting, on June 8. The Hungarians crossed the Danube at Gran and the River Neutra, menacing Pressburg between Budapest and Vienna north of the Danube. Some fighting continued in this region. The Czech armies were being reorganized under French officers. General Pelle, who in 1916 had been Joffre's chief of staff, was given supreme command. As the Hungarians had practically all the old Austrian Army's artillery, none of which had been surrendered, they were much better equipped than the Czechs. The President of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Masaryk, had sent repeated telegrams to the Peace Conference for assistance.

### ALLIES SEND ULTIMATUM

Premier Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, on June 9 telegraphed the Hungarian Government that attacks by Hungarian troops on Czechoslovak forces must cease. The Premier's message added that in case of non-compliance the allied and associated Governments had decided to use "extreme measures to constrain Hungary to cease hostilities." This dispatch was sent by

wireless, and demanded a reply within forty-eight hours. Meanwhile the Hungarian successes continued, and on June 13 the Czechs were still retreating. Bela Kun, the Communist leader, visited the Hungarian Red Army, and in a long speech told the troops that their valor would bring about a change in the attitude of the Peace Conference toward the Hungarian Government; that he had answered the allied ultimatum, but his reply had not been satisfactory.

#### CONDITIONS IN BUDAPEST

Conditions in Budapest, especially those incident to the shortage in metal money, were described by a special correspondent of the *Tageblatt of Berlin*. Bela Kun, the Communist leader, the correspondent said, had issued a huge amount of paper money with which all labor was paid, but which the peasants refused to accept, with the result that two pounds of beef cost the equivalent of \$24 to \$26 at the peace time rate of exchange and two pounds of fat or butter \$60.

The correspondent continued:

All the stores in Budapest are closed, even the book stores, on the order of Bela Kun, because the population showed an unlooked-for talent in buying goods in order to get rid of the worthless money wherever its acceptance was obligatory. The restaurants are open only at meal times and the café only from 6 to 9 o'clock in the morning and 6 to 9 o'clock at night.

The Hotel Hungaria, the former social centre of Budapest, on the Danube, is occupied by the people's commissaries. Barricades have been built around it and machine guns placed behind the barricades.

The deficit in the return from the State railroads in May jumped to 3,000,000 crowns and, consequently, the railroad fares on June 1 were increased 200 per cent.

The number of marriages, oddly enough, has increased astonishingly. This is due to the ease with which marriage is possible. The newly married couples, however, have the greatest difficulty in finding homes, even though Bela Kun has confiscated all the palaces and public buildings. The baths and cures are reserved for the proletariat. It is impossible to have linen laundered. Operations in hospitals are almost impossible and the conditions in the hospitals are bad. The picture in the streets of Budapest is entirely changed. No more are hawkers and

newspaper vendors seen. Automobiles and cabs have been confiscated. The Danube steamers are idle with the red flag floating from their masts.

#### BOUND AND GAGGED

A London Times correspondent, who had been three weeks in Budapest, wrote that political freedom in Hungary was absolutely non-existent, and continued:

That this should be so in the case of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie goes without saying and is, indeed, expressly inherent in the Decree No. 26, published on April 2, whereby the Soviet Government granted the active and passive franchise only to the working people, further defined with convenient vagueness as "all those of either sex who have completed their 18th year and live from work useful to society."

The bourgeoisie and the aristocrats are *ipso facto* pariahs, for whom no consideration whatever is to be shown, and into whose faces the proletariat should, in the graceful language of the People's Commissary, Szamuely, "publicly spit."

It might reasonably be supposed that so unmitigated a tyranny as this could be possible only when wielded by men of outstanding capabilities. Such, however, is not the case. With the possible exception of Szamuely, there is no really first-class brain in the whole Government.

Without, then, any brilliantly intellectual or original minds to lead it, the Government is holding its place simply because it disposes of the only arms in Hungary.

The program of terrorism was thorough, this correspondent said. The death penalty was attached to many governmental decrees. Where death was not threatened, long terms of imprisonment and heavy fines were provided. Among the more oppressive measures were the suspension of all courts of justice, except the Revolutionary Tribunal and a special Court of Arbitration; confiscation of all personal property above a small amount, including money, notes, jewelry, art objects, clothing, furniture, shops, banks, hotels, houses, factories, and estates; oppression of the clergy from whom the franchise was taken and all means of subsistence except voluntary donations; expropriation of rooms in bourgeois dwellings, and muzzling of the press, to which fulsome praises of the Hungarian Soviet Government were dictated. The correspondent added:

Calm and order have hitherto prevailed in Budapest and elsewhere for no other

reason than that the population is temporarily cowed, disarmed, and demoralized. The population is passively acquiescing for the time being simply because it has no means of resistance and because a people which has been broken down physically, intellectually, and morally by nearly five years of unsuccessful warfare is naturally a happy subject for the tyranny of any determined gang of miscreants.

#### THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

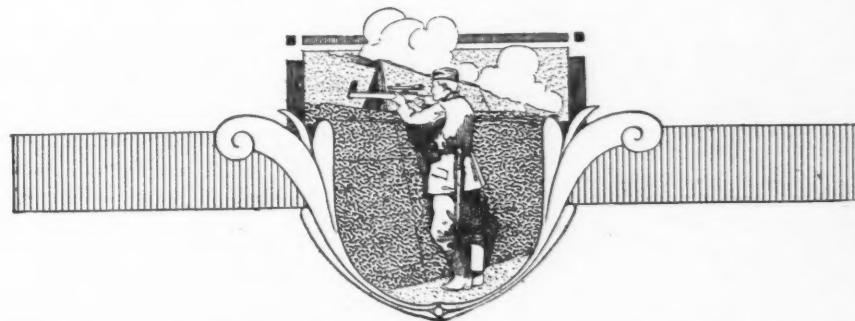
That the spirit of counter-revolution existed was seen in dispatches reporting Hungarian outbreaks against the Soviet Government in Western Hungary, especially around Oedenburg. Stern repressive measures were used on June 7, after thirty-two villages surrounding Oedenburg had refused to go over to Bolshevism and expressed a desire to unite with Austria. Bela Kun and Joseph Pogany, Bolshevik Minister of War, visited the districts, then sent orders to Commissioner Szamuely, to whom such work is usually deputed, to conduct requisitions of clothing, food, and imperial paper crowns, now called "blue" money, to distinguish it from "red" or Soviet money.

The peasants gathered a small army, numbering a few thousand, armed with rifles, axes, scythes, and similar weapons, against which a Red division was sent. The peasants were surrounded.

Kolnhof was shelled. Then machine guns were turned against it. A majority of those fleeing from the burning village were shot. Those who were captured were hanged.

Another serious revolt was reported from Western Hungary, which was started by a hussar regiment. Counter-revolutionary movements were reported from other parts of the country by farmers, burghers, and members of the working classes refusing to recognize Bolshevism.

The formation of a Provisional Anti-Bolshevist Government, as reported in the *Paris Temps*, occurred about the beginning of May. The new Cabinet, which was established in Arad, then occupied by French troops, was headed by Count Julius Karolyi, a distant relative of Count Michael Karolyi. The former Consul General Baron Bornemisza was charged with the portfolio of Foreign Minister. Other Ministers were appointed, including Bela Barabas, Public Instruction, and General Szaba, Minister of War. In a manifesto the new Government declared that its first duty was to repair the damage done by Hungarian Bolshevism, and to re-establish a régime of law and order. The headquarters were later removed to Szegedin.



# Stormy Days in Poland

Germans of Danzig and Upper Silesia Protest Peace Terms—  
Polish Offensive in Galicia

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

**P**OLAND figured prominently in May and June as a centre of important events connected with the Peace Conference. The consternation produced throughout Germany by the publication of the peace terms took on a belligerent form in Upper Silesia: the German inhabitants threatened armed opposition, and their representatives sent telegrams to the Berlin Government declaring that they would never become "Polish slaves." Public parades and demonstrations were organized, and it was reported by the Polish National Committee on May 1 that the Germans in Upper Silesia were calling for mobilization.

The erection of Danzig into an autonomous city also was bitterly protested by the German residents of the whole region. By order of the Peace Conference, the city was occupied by British and American marines on May 27, and a powerful fleet anchored in the harbor. The Burgomaster of Danzig, in an interview given on June 1, declared that Danzig did not want to become a free State, and still less did its people wish to become Polish subjects. He added:

We shall not allow ourselves to be separated from Germany. I am fully aware of the seriousness of what I say when I declare that should Berlin sign the terms which throw us out of the Fatherland, we shall not regard ourselves as bound by them.

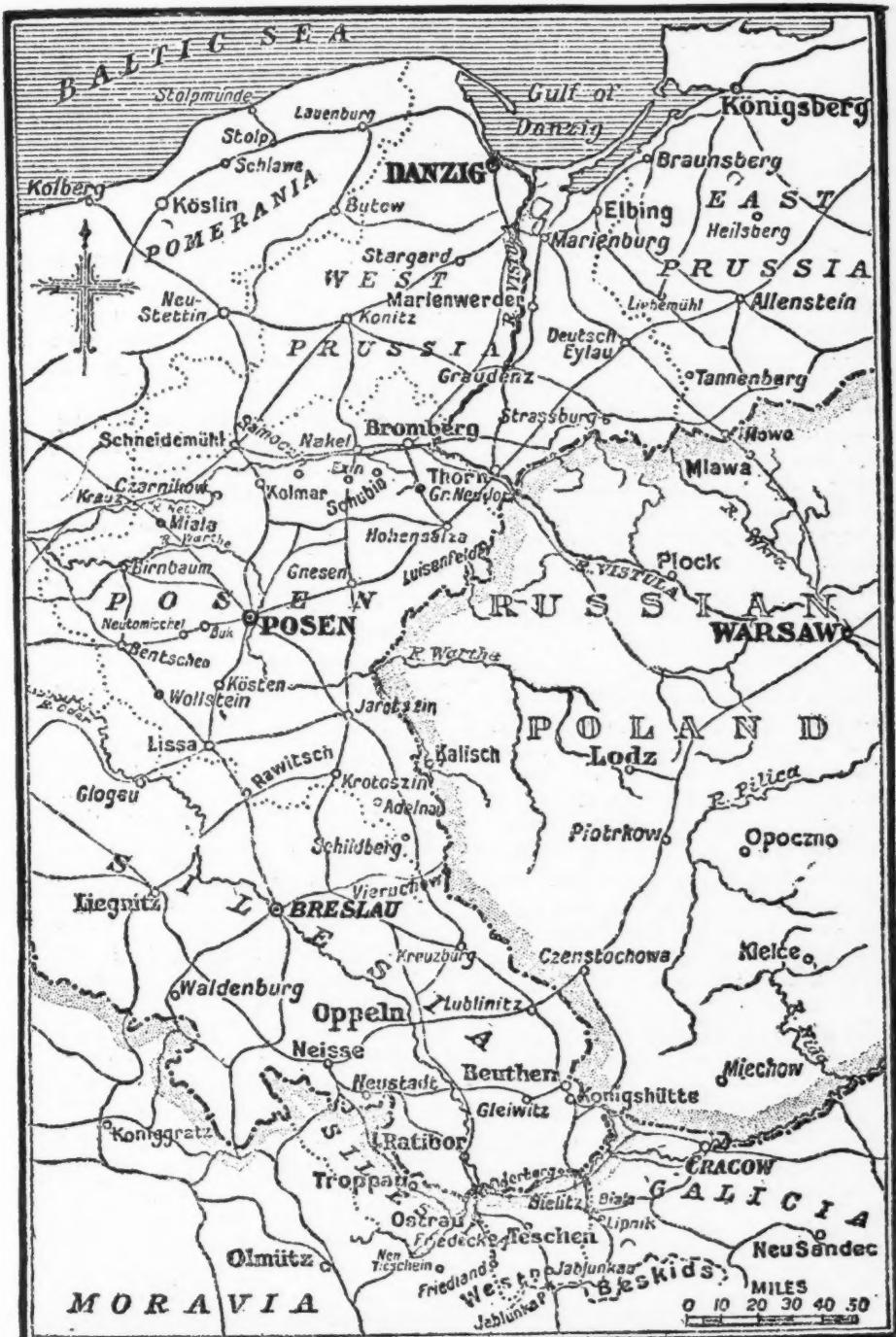
## PADEREWSKI OVERRULED

International complications were threatened by an extensive campaign planned and actually begun by the Polish Government in East Galicia against the Ukrainians. This offensive was in contravention of explicit promises given by Premier Paderewski to the Peace Conference, and was also contrary to the personal desire of General Pilsudski, the

Chief of Staff. Paderewski returned from Paris on May 11, discovered what was going on, and by early afternoon was in conference with General Pilsudski, who was also Commander in Chief of the Polish Army.

General Pilsudski informed the Premier that in compliance with the expressed desires of the Diet he intended to move his forces to another front, with a double object of driving the Ukrainians beyond the natural defensive line of the River Bug, which would leave the best of the oil fields in Polish possession, and of effecting a junction to the south with the Rumanians at Czernovitz, thus completing fully the armed front that Poland was opposing to the Bolshevik and semi-Bolshevist forces. M. Paderewski then informed General Pilsudski of his promise to Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson in Paris. At the same time the Premier disclosed to the Chief of Staff a letter from Herbert Hoover, which, by assuring raw materials, made it possible to start the country's key industries of textiles. Convined by the Premier that the projected campaign was inexpedient, General Pilsudski immediately telephoned orders countermanding the instructions to the army to start the East Galician attack, which was to have begun on May 12.

Despite every effort of the two Polish statesmen, however, the Diet refused to sanction this order of revocation, and likewise declined to support the Prime Minister in his pledge given at Paris. The conflict continued for two days, but the resolve of the Polish Diet could not be shaken. M. Paderewski therefore, on May 13, sent his resignation to the Diet. General Pilsudski received orders to begin the offensive, which, after a conference with M. Paderewski, he felt himself compelled to do. Meanwhile action on



MAP OF POLAND COVERING THE VARIOUS REGIONS IN DISPUTE

the Premier's resignation remained in abeyance.

#### CAMPAIGN IN GALICIA

The campaign in East Galicia was thereupon begun. On Friday, May 16, the Poles, taking advantage of the lull in the Ukrainian hostilities that had begun a week before, started a general drive on the Lemberg sector, moving in a southeasterly direction. They swept forward with great rapidity, until they had taken virtually all their political as well as military objectives. In three days they had advanced nearly one hundred miles. The Ukrainians made only a feeble resistance to the attack on Boryslaw, which was captured. The Polish troops had occupied virtually the entire oil field country of East Galicia by May 19. On the evening of this day, Warsaw was reported to be "wild with delight": posters announcing the capture of Boryslaw, the key position to the rich oil fields of East Galicia, were prominently displayed throughout the city.

The offensive proceeded swiftly. On May 20 it was officially announced that beside Boryslaw the towns of Drohobycz and Mikolajow had been taken. The Dniester River had been crossed by the Polish troops, vast quantities of war materials and many Ukrainian prisoners were captured, and the enemy was fleeing in panic. Great enthusiasm prevailed in the cities taken by the Poles, and hundred of new volunteers were enlisted. New successes were reported five days later: Kamionkapole, forty kilometers from Lemberg, had fallen; the Ukrainian army was disorganized, and the Poles were continuing pursuit. On May 26 word came from Warsaw that the Polish Diet, virtual master of East Galicia by reason of its complete military success, had adopted the principle of autonomy for the captured region.

#### UKRAINIANS ASK ARMISTICE

Soon after the beginning of hostilities, and during their continuance, M. Holubowicz, Premier of West Ukraine, commented on the Polish offensive in Galicia as follows:

The insane policy of the Allies in sup-

porting the Poles is responsible for the situation. The Allies stipulated that General Haller's army should not be used against us, but it is being done.\* Premier Paderewski is making a comedy of resigning because of being unable to keep his promises. May the blood of thousands of Poles in the Ukraine be upon the heads of those who are directing or permitting the attacks and the destruction of the Ukraine's hopes to be free.

The continuance of the Polish success, however, compelled the Ukrainians on May 19 to request an armistice. On May 21 it was announced that the armistice negotiations had been transferred from the fighting front to Warsaw. Colonel Ukourtmonovitch, Chief of Staff under General Peneyko, who was in command of Petliura's armies, arrived from East Galicia on the date mentioned and began conferences at once with Premier Paderewski and General Pilsudski. It was expected that all Polish claims to Galician territory would be satisfied.

#### CAMPAIGN IN LITHUANIA

In undertaking its offensive in Lithuania against the Bolsheviks in the latter part of April the Polish Diet passed the following resolution unanimously:

The Polish military action is not aimed in any degree to prejudice by the force of arms the decisions of the Peace Conference, nor to add to Poland territories contrary to the desire of their inhabitants; it aims only to defend them against foreign invasion.

The offensive on the Polish-White Russian front was enthusiastically received in Poland. The objectives of Vilna-Minsk, which formerly belonged to the Polish part of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whose capital was Vilna, were attained, and the Bolshevik peril removed further to the east. The blow to Soviet Russia, which planned to use this district as a base of operations for its further advance westward through Poland, was a powerful one. Vilna was entered on May 21 by General Pilsudski, who was received with acclamations. The town had been taken on the 19th by a trainload of Polish soldiers coming from the east. Whole companies of the Red

\*This was later denied by the Poles, who declared that Haller's troops had merely been used for guard duty in non-belligerent regions.

Army woke up that morning to find themselves prisoners. Large quantities of munitions were captured. The capture of the city was a personal triumph for Pilsudski, as in undertaking the attack he had to overcome the opposition of the party of the Right in the Diet, which had sought to concentrate military operations wholly upon the Ukrainian front. So the eastern part of the little Lithuanian province was liberated from the Bolshevik invasion. The western portion, that is, the Government of Kovno, and the northern region of the Government of Souvalki, still remained in the power of the German armies.

#### LITHUANIAN PROTEST

The Lithuanians, however, protested against the Polish occupation of their territory, and sent out official appeals upon this violation of their national rights and their aspiration to autonomy. Negotiations between the Lithuanians and the Poles upon the disputed ground mollified somewhat the Lithuanian resentment arising from the encroachment on their territory. Subsequently, however, the hostility of the Lithuanians to the Poles became very acute, owing to charges that the Lithuanian residents of the occupied regions were being maltreated. Full-page advertisements, issued by the Lithuanian National Committee, appeared in American newspapers on June 3, recounting persecutions and massacres conducted by the Poles. A passage of a cable dispatch sent to the committee declared: "The Polish troops treat brutally the non-Polish population of Vilna, especially the Lithuanian intellectuals. They pillage money and jewelry on the streets. Persons without Polish passports are held up, especially Lithuanians, their pockets are emptied, and money stolen." The cablegram added that levies were being made on prominent Lithuanians, and that in districts occupied by the Poles the population was forced to speak Polish. Jewish massacres in Vilna were said to have totaled 1,200 dead up to May 5.

#### POGROMS IN POLAND

Detailed evidence of anti-Jewish pogroms in 110 Polish cities was published

in America and abroad by well-known foreign correspondents, such as Henri Bernstein, and mass meetings were held in New York and elsewhere to protest against the systematic attacks on the Jewish population of Poland. The execution of thirty-seven Jews in Pinsk, members of the committee organized to distribute American food supplies, was bitterly denounced. This, as well as a complete record of all the anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland, was published by members of the Defense of Poland. Attested evidence of eyewitnesses had been collected by this committee on all the massacres and brutalities perpetrated in Polish cities since November, 1918. The story of the Pinsk massacre was given as follows:

The Pinsk tragedy stands out as an example of bloody horror surpassing all the rest. On April 5 a pogrom was started in the city, Polish legionaries robbing Jewish houses and dragging Jewish captives to the barracks for compulsory work. About 5 in the afternoon a group of soldiers tried to get hold of two young Jews on the corner of Kupiecka and Sieverna Streets. The Jews sought refuge in the Zionist People's House. A meeting of the Jewish co-operative organization working under the American Jewish Joint Distribution Relief Committee was taking place at the time, discussing the question of food distribution for the coming Passover holidays. A permit for the meeting had been procured from the local Polish authorities. There were besides the committee many other Jews in the house, some to get word from their relatives in America, others to read or talk.

The Polish soldiers in pursuit of the two young Jews entered the house, but withdrew almost immediately. Soon afterward a detachment of soldiers surrounded the building. One of the Jews, Moses Glauberman, tried to flee, and was executed. The rest, about eighty men, were arrested and taken to the Commandant's office, where they were searched and their money and valuables taken away. Some were severely beaten. After the searching the prisoners were led out into the street. Nobody was permitted to accompany them, the soldiers driving the curious Jewish masses away from the scene. Soon a volley was fired and cries of anguish were heard from behind the cordon of soldiers. Thirty-five of the men had been instantly shot without semblance of trial.

The explanation given by the Polish authorities was that the executed men had been Bolsheviks. Subsequent investiga-

tions revealed that nearly all of the men had been Zionists and strongly opposed to the Bolshevik movement.

After the execution, a fine of 100,000 crowns was levied on the Jews of Pinsk. Interrogated in the Polish Parliament as to the events in Pinsk, the Polish War Minister, General Liesniewski, replied that a Bolshevik plot was discovered at Pinsk and the guilty ones executed.

Reports of universal protests against the massacres of Jews brought response from various Polish authorities, including Premier Paderewski, who declared that practically no pogroms had occurred in Poland during his ministry. One had occurred before he took office. The Pinsk affair he accepted as an execution under court-martial of Bolshevik conspirators. A formal proclamation issued by Premier Paderewski on March 24 was translated as follows by a witness before the House Committee of Foreign Affairs at Washington:

Persons with evil intentions, who are aiming to bring quarrels and disorder in the rejuvenated Poland, have been spreading rumors that the beating of Jews will not be opposed by the Polish safety organs—namely the police and militia. These rumors are being spread for the purpose of inducing the ignorant and light-minded inhabitants to assist the dark forces (persons) in their criminal acts, outrages, and robberies.

In free, independent Poland all her citizens are found under the protection of the law, and this law is administered in equal measure to all, without distinction as to religion or extraction.

The Government calls, therefore, to all our people to guard the peace and public order and warns also that every one who will permit himself, of his own account, or through the inducement of another, to attack, rob, or commit outrages, or who would take any step against the safety of Jews or Christians will be arrested and punished according to the entire severity of the law.

The State Department at Washington announced on June 3 that it had received from the Polish Provisional Government strong assurances that it would not tolerate persecution of any kind and had issued strict instructions to preserve order. Hugh Gibson, the American Minister at Warsaw, telegraphed that the reports of the pogroms were "very much

exaggerated," and the State Department issued a summary of his dispatch on June 7, in which he said:

The city of Vilna was captured by the Poles on April 29 in a house-to-house fight, and some of the local population were killed during this fight. It is reported that the Polish forces had thirty-five casualties, and that thirty-eight civilians were killed. Persons who were known to be, or were even suspected of being, Communists, it is stated, were deported as hostages as a set-off against Poles deported by the Bolsheviks. These cases have been under investigation by a commission, and those found to be citizens of good repute are being returned to Vilna without delay.

#### HALLER'S ARMY IN POLAND

The first division of General Haller's army reached Warsaw on Easter Monday. The Vienna station, adorned with Polish and Ally flags, was literally besieged by the inhabitants. Welcomed with interminable ovations and greeted by representatives of the Government, of the City of Warsaw, and of the Diet, as a new Dombrowski, bringing long-awaited legions from the land of France to Poland, the General was borne in honor from the station to the Polish Hotel, designated as the headquarters of his army. On April 23 the parade of the First Battalion of the army took place. Preceded by a military band in impeccable uniforms, the battalion in columns marched through the principal streets of the Polish capital. All the Polish soldiers of the division, who wore French uniforms, evoking reminiscences of the Napoleonic era, were adorned with flowers as they marched to the strains of "La Marche Lorraine" and the "Sambre-et-Meuse." A review on the Saxon Square, in the presence of General Haller and the Minister of War, brought the procession to an end. The Polish troops from France continued throughout May and June to be transported—very slowly—across Germany by train. Once the German authorities stopped all the trains for a day, charging that Haller's troops were being used against Germany, but a peremptory order from Marshal Foch set them in motion again.

# Closing In on Soviet Russia

## Anti-Bolshevist Armies Gradually Gain Ground and Kolchak Government Wins Allied Support

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

EVENTS in Russia in May and June showed a continued tendency toward the weakening of the Lenin-Trotzky régime. The armies of all the anti-Bolshevist forces made considerable progress in the general enveloping movement begun some months before. The map on page 87 indicates the advance of the American, British, and Russian troops from the north, with the threat against Petrograd from the northwest by Finnish forces, and from the south and west by Estonians, Finns, and North Russians, within a few miles of the former Russian capital; from the south in Lithuania, where Polish and Lithuanian troops were operating; and from the southwest, where General Denikin's troops were holding the front pivoting on Tzaritsin and seeking to effect a junction with troops of Admiral Kolchak marching southward to recapture Orenburg. The other arrow in the East indicates the general line of advance of the Siberian armies toward the Volga, which became so menacing that the Bolsheviks began preparations to evacuate Moscow.

Accounts of pestilence and famine, of many uprisings in Soviet Russia against the Lenin régime, of wholesale desertions of Bolshevik troops to the Kolchak armies, of the alarming stoppage of production, so serious that Lenin was driven to the employment of capitalistic methods to compel the Bolsheviks to work, showed that the disintegration of the Soviet power was steadily proceeding.

The other side of the picture is the looming of the strong and still somewhat enigmatic figure of Kolchak, whose military successes, combined with the ever-growing stability of his Government in Siberia, at last brought him partial recognition by the Allies. He also received the support of General Semeoff, the independent Russian leader. The Peace Conference, forced to admit the

rapid growth of the Siberian régime, sent a representative to Kolchak to gain absolute certainty of the democratic tendencies of this leader. On June 12 the Council of Four sent an official note pledging allied assistance and support.

### THE NORTHERN FRONT

General Maynard, commanding the allied forces on the Murmansk front, removed his headquarters 400 miles southward to Kem, on the White Sea.

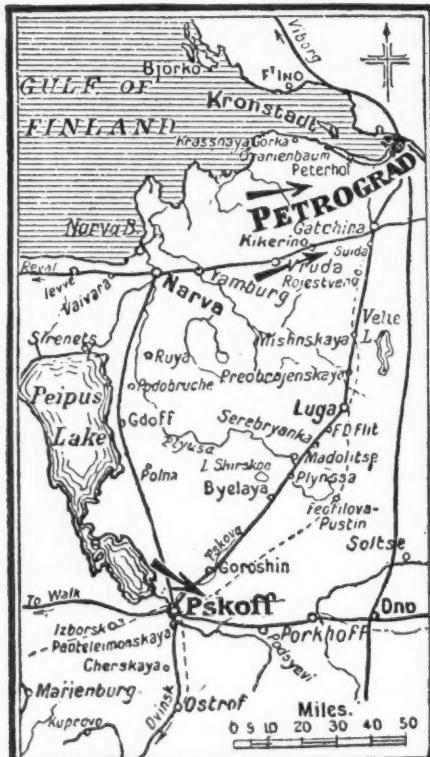
By the middle of June the fall of the fortress of Kronstadt—the key to Petrograd—was reported to be imminent. An official report issued from the Estonian headquarters at Reval stated that White Guards had captured the important fort of Krasnayagorka, across the bay from Kronstadt, and that the fall of this fort had been preceded by the mutiny of its Bolshevik garrison. The mutiny had begun on the 14th, when the garrison opened fire on Kronstadt, which replied to the attack. Five Bolshevik warships shelled Krasnayagorka that day and the next, but the fort by that time was firmly in the hands of the White Guards. The dispatch added that active preparations for the evacuation of Petrograd were under way.

On May 26 the American cruiser Des Moines arrived at Archangel simultaneously with transports bringing new British volunteer units to relieve the American and other troops who had been fighting in Russia since August, 1918. The ship on which the new forces arrived had been designated to transport the first unit of American infantry homeward. The last American infantry on the Vologda front were relieved on June 9, after nearly eight months' service, and sailed for home on June 15. The Americans received a rousing farewell from the British and Russian command at Obozerskaya. Memorial Day services

were held at the Archangel Cemetery in honor of the 200 Americans who had been killed in action or died of disease in North Russia.

### THE FINNISH CAMPAIGN

The Finnish Council held a plenary secret session on May 19, at which General



MAP SHOWING OPERATIONS NEAR PETROGRAD AND KRONSTADT.

Mannerheim called for immediate action, with mobilization set for May 25. The operations were to be conducted by three corps, which were to move over to the Kola Railroad to reinforce the Allied troops advancing southward along that road, the second to move directly on Petrograd, and the third to co-operate with the Estonian Army.

The offensive consisted of a double advance. The Finnish White Guards, moving with the tacit consent, if not the official sanction of the Finnish Government, pushed out from their own frontiers between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega, and cleared the region as far as

the Svir River, which they crossed, rounding Lake Ladoga and approaching Petrograd from the east. Meanwhile another offensive was suddenly begun by the Estonians on the west. With the Estonians co-operated a North Russian contingent commanded by Colonel Belakhovitch.

This was one of the most formidable offensives which the Bolsheviks had yet faced. The successes won were striking. The northernmost column, as already related, captured the fort of Krasnaya-gorka. The Bolshevik position at the Gatschina railway station, some thirty-five miles from Petrograd, was successfully attacked. Many Bolshevik soldiers in the Gatschina area and in the coast region west of Petrograd surrendered with their arms and ammunition, and joined in attacking their former comrades. Meanwhile the southernmost column, by a surprise attack, captured Pskov on June 1.

Early in the campaign an encounter occurred between the British warships in the Gulf of Finland and a part of the Bolshevik squadron operating from Kronstadt; one Bolshevik vessel was sunk, and one British submarine. On June 13 the British ships were bombarding Kronstadt with heavy guns.

### FALL OF RIGA

The retirement of the Bolsheviks from Riga occurred about May 26. A dispatch of this date stated that the Soviet forces, after executing some forty persons in the Central Prison, had withdrawn to new positions six miles east of that city. A report sent from Libau by Erich Kohrer, press representative of the German Embassy, gave a description of frightful atrocities committed by the lowest elements of the Riga population before the city was retaken from the Bolsheviks.

The operations around Riga resulted in a clash between the Estonians and the German troops at that point. The Estonian General Staff charged the Germans with having made a treacherous attack upon the Estonians by order of General von der Goltz.

Marshal Foch on June 10 sent word to the Germans ordering a cessation of



THE NUMBERED ARROWS INDICATE THE LINES OF ATTACK ON THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. (1) THE ALLIES. (2) FINNISH TROOPS. (3) RUSSIAN PEASANT TROOPS. (4) ESTHONIAN ARMY. (5) KOLCHAK'S ARMY. SOUTH OF SARATOFF IS DENIKIN'S ARMY.

these new hostilities. It was proposed in Paris that an allied mission be sent to investigate the charges made by the Estonians.

From the Baltic provinces came news of steady advances by various forces opposed to the Bolshevikt armies.

#### IN THE UKRAINE

The Bolsheviks were faced also by internal troubles in the South. A dangerous movement developed in the Ukraine with the revolt of the Division Commander Grigoriev, mentioned in a Moscow wireless received at Omsk. This message embodied an order issued by Commissary Antonov, commander of the Red forces in the Ukraine, and read as follows:

The Division Commander Grigoriev has revolted against the Soviet rule. He decided to move on Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, and Odessa, thereby striking us in the back. We declare Grigoriev to be a traitor. He and every one who is asso-

ciated with him in the struggle against the Soviet rule will be shot.

The three cities mentioned represent a front of 300 miles. Grigoriev was directly in the area of the Bolshevik forces operating against the Rumanians and Ukrainians, and any considerable success would enable him to join forces with the latter.

#### ON OTHER FRONTS

A Moscow wireless of May 18 reported that owing to Rumania's disregard of the ultimatum from the Russian Soviet Government demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia, a state of war existed between Red Russia and Rumania. Bolshevik troops had crossed the Dniester River in the Tiraspol district, where they defeated the Rumanians. A trip to Kishinev, capital of Bessarabia, was made by General Franchet d'Esperey to acquaint himself with the military situation on the Dniester front.

News telegraphed by the chief of the British Military Mission at Ekaterinodar and received in London on May 19 announced that General Denikin, who was personally conducting the operations of his anti-Bolshevist army against the city of Tsaritzin, on the Volga, had captured large numbers of prisoners and twenty-eight guns from the Soviet forces.

#### ADVANCE OF KOLCHAK

The series of successes gained by the forces of Admiral Kolchak on various fronts against the Bolsheviks, chronicled in the June issue of *Current History*, were continued, but early in June he met with a serious setback and withdrew along the whole front.

Advices received from Omsk by the Russian Commission in Paris on May 16 said that Admiral Kolchak's Cabinet had been reorganized, and would include two new members with liberal views. General Ivanov-Rinov, commander of the troops of the All-Russian Government in Eastern Siberia, was replaced by General Horvath, who also held the position of Civil Governor. It was stated authoritatively that the selection of General Horvath was made in the interest of better relations with the United States.

Admiral Kolchak returned on May 20 from a personal visit to Ekaterinburg, where he presided at a conference of manufacturers, peasants, and industrial organizations in the Ural district. He gave them assurance that the Siberian Government would help in the rehabilitation of industries and in the building up of transportation facilities.

Guarantees were given a Jewish delegation that the rights of Jews would be safeguarded, and several Jewish organizations expressed confidence in the Government, sending cash donations for the army. Admiral Kolchak outlined the work proposed by the Department of Agriculture in framing land reform legislation, which would guarantee peasants the tenure of land which they till, and increasing the number of land holders by a large percentage in many districts. The land policy of the Government contemplated broadly the parcelling out of Government lands, and the subdivision of private estates on the basis of a fair

compensation to the owners from the Government Treasury.

#### RECOGNITION OF KOLCHAK

The question of a possible recognition by the Allies of the Kolchak régime was linked at first with the question of a loan to the Siberian Government for the purpose of rebuilding the Trans-Siberian Railroad. John F. Stevens, an American, had been appointed under the Kerensky régime in 1917 as Managing Director of Railroads. He and his 200 American assistants took hold of the problem as a basic one in bringing about order in Siberia. The condition of affairs was disheartening.

As soon as these conditions were surveyed under the Interallied Committee a meeting was held, and the decision reached to call on the principal Allies, including the United States, for a loan of \$20,000,000, or \$4,000,000 from each. As the Interallied Commission was representative of the Allies, it was held that the money could be advanced by the United States direct to the committee, but approval of this was not obtained from the Administration, and so the situation drifted until it faced a new set of circumstances.

Bakhmetiev, Maklakov, Sazonov, and other members of the so-called Ambassadorial Russian Committees in Paris were urging the Allies to recognize Kolchak without any conditions. But the Democratic Union for the Regeneration of Russia, which has headquarters in Paris, wanted Kolchak recognized on condition of a sufficient guarantee that he would work for a Constituent Assembly and the establishment of Russian Democracy as soon as he had conquered the Bolsheviks. That the Peace Conference leaned toward this view was seen in the action eventually taken in sending Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, to confer with Admiral Kolchak. The main conditions stipulated were covered by an answer from Admiral Kolchak which reached Paris on June 5. The text of the Allied letter, and Kolchak's reply are given elsewhere. Convinced by the assurances given, the Council of Four on June 12 sent an official note to Admiral Kolchak offering

assistance in food, supplies, and munitions.

#### INTERNAL CONDITIONS

In Petrograd railway traffic was at a standstill, owing to the complete breakdown of the system, which was hampering Lenin in his defensive operation and hindering civilians in their flight. It was almost impossible to leave Petrograd. Passengers stood on the platforms waiting for trains, while agents plundered their luggage with the cynical remark: "Wherever you are going, you can dispense with this."

But the flight from Petrograd continued, mostly toward the Finnish frontier, few pausing to think how they should get through the cordon of Red guards between the city and the frontier. Many were shot down even by Finnish guards, who could not distinguish at sight between a Bolshevik and an anti-Bolshevik. Within Petrograd Zinoviev and his defense committee were shooting practically at sight all those suspected of sympathy with the various armies converging on the city of despair.

Hunger was everywhere in Red Russia, and epidemics were breaking out. In Moscow there were 3,000 cases of typhus per week and 95 per cent. of the hospital staffs were unable to work, while it was asserted that cholera had broken out in Petrograd. Nevertheless, Red circles in Petrograd refused to entertain the idea of accepting Nansen's scheme for provisioning Russia, as they regarded it as a stab in the back which would be fatal to the Bolshevik leaders' position. Numerous known Bolsheviks were arranging their affairs as best they could and fleeing to the south, and the mass of people were beginning to feel themselves deserted.

#### NEW "STATE CAPITALISM"

An interesting picture of the internal effects of the application of Bolshevism was given by a correspondent of the London *Morning Post*. From this account it appeared that Lenin, realizing the truth of the Bolshevik politician Chudakayev's dictum that Soviet nationalization would prove to be nonsense, had reverted to the methods of capitalism to

enforce production; not to what Lenin in an excellent speech called "the predatory side of capitalism," but towards "the by us unfortunately neglected organizational side." State capitalism, in other words, was Bolshevism's latest expedient, an organized system of working-man exploitation directly contrary to the syndicalist-socialist trend elsewhere in Europe. The Bolshevik newspapers gave ample evidence that only by becoming more capitalistic than the capitalists could the Soviet régime endure. Metal goods were almost wholly lacking. Nationalized trade was at a standstill. The Bolshevik Commissary Molotov complained to the party conference at Petrograd that of the State stores in Petrograd 380 were closed and sealed. The cause everywhere was idleness, or, as politely expressed, "fall-off in per capita production." This was the motive which had induced Lenin, backed by Trotzky, Tchitcherin, and Lunacharsky, to resort to capitalistic methods.

#### THE MARTENS EMBASSY

Lenin and Trotzky, together with officials of the Soviet Government, began through the Red "Ambassador" to the United States, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, a sixteen-page newspaper called Soviet Russia, published weekly in New York City as a medium of Bolshevik propaganda. The first issue appeared June 9.

On May 23 Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, introduced a resolution in the Senate providing for the deportation of Martens and a number of other aliens connected with the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York. The resolution was referred to the Immigration Committee. Another resolution presented by Senator King provided for the recognition of the Kolchak régime as the *de facto* Government of Russia.

On June 12 the headquarters of the Soviet "Ambassador" were raided by members of the State Constabulary and private detectives. All letters and other documents in the files of the Soviet Mission were removed. Martens and his whole office staff were conducted under a heavy guard of State troopers to the City Hall, where they were summoned to

appear as witnesses before the Legislative Joint Committee created to investigate the spread of Bolshevism in the State of New York.

#### CO-OPERATIVES BACK KOLCHAK

In "an appeal to the American people and to members of Congress," issued by the United Co-operative Organization of North Russia and Siberia, through their representatives in the United States, the organizations, representing, it is said, a membership of 20,000,000, announced that they would recognize and support the

Omsk Government, headed by Admiral Kolchak, "until the formation of a new ultimate Government through the Constituent Assembly."

The statement said that the All-Russian Co-operative Congress held in Moscow in April, 1918, rejected the principles and the methods of the Bolsheviks and declared the Brest-Litovsk treaty dishonorable and ruinous for Russia. According to the statement, the members were sent to the United States by their central bodies to establish economic relations with the United States.

## Allied Support for Kolchak

### Exchange of Notes Between the Council of Four and the Russian Commander Leads to Pledge of Assistance

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK, military and political head of the All-Russian Government at Omsk, obtained allied support and—to a certain extent—recognition on June 12, 1919, when the Peace Council sent an official note offering assistance in food, supplies, and munitions. Agitation for recognition of the Kolchak Government began in Paris in December after the Prinkipo fiasco. It was first taken up by the Council of Ten and then by the Council of Four.

The principal argument against recognition, usually traced to Bolshevik propaganda, was that Kolchak sought to re-establish imperialism and had failed, for that reason, to win the support of other anti-Bolshevist factions in Russia. Meanwhile, these other anti-Bolshevist factions, including the Cossacks under General Denikin, recognized the Omsk Government, and France and Great Britain sent envoys to Omsk to ascertain the truth. President Wilson, in May, sent Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, on a similar mission.

A number of notes had been exchanged between Omsk and Paris, relating chiefly to the material needs of Russia—rolling stock for the railroads, rails, seed, clothing, &c., and a loan of \$20,000,000. On

May 15 this last was approved by the Interallied Committee.

A later note contained the chief aim of the Omsk Government—to fight without compromise the Bolsheviks, to re-establish the local Zemstvos, "to call a National Assembly elected by universal suffrage under the direction of the Zemstvos and Municipal Councils, which shall define the structure of the State and solve the main political, social, and national problems. The Government will consider it its duty then to transfer to the Government chosen by the National, or Constituent, Assembly all the powers now belonging to the present Government."

#### ORIGINAL MESSAGE TO KOLCHAK

On May 26 the Council of Four acknowledged this note in a long reply which intimated that allied support would be given to the Kolchak Government on receiving assurances that certain fundamental conditions would be fulfilled. The text of this allied communication is given herewith:

Paris, May 26, 1919.

The Allied and Associated Powers feel that the time has come when it is necessary for them once more to make clear the policy they propose to pursue in regard to Russia.

It has always been a cardinal axiom of the Allied and Associated Powers to avoid interference in the internal affairs of Russia. Their original intervention was made for the sole purpose of assisting those elements in Russia which wanted to continue the struggle against German autocracy and to free their country from German rule, and in order to rescue the Czechoslovaks from the danger of annihilation at the hands of the Bolshevik forces.

Since the signature of the armistice, on Nov. 11, 1918, they have kept forces in various parts of Russia. Munitions and supplies have been sent to assist those associated with them, at a very considerable cost. No sooner, however, did the Peace Conference assemble than they endeavored to bring peace and order to Russia by inviting representatives of all the warring Governments within Russia to meet them, in the hope that they might be able to arrange a permanent solution of the Russian problem.

This proposal, and a later offer to relieve the distress among the suffering millions of Russia, broke down through the refusal of the Soviet Government to accept the fundamental conditions of suspending hostilities while negotiations for the work of relief were proceeding.

Some of the Allied and Associated Governments are now being pressed to withdraw their troops and to incur no further expense in Russia, on the ground that continued intervention shows no prospect of producing an early settlement. They are prepared, however, to continue their assistance on the lines laid down below, provided they are satisfied that it will really help the Russian people to liberty, self-government, and peace.

The Allied and Associated Governments now wish to declare formally that the object of their policy is to restore peace within Russia by enabling the Russian people to resume control of their own affairs through the instrumentality of a freely elected Constituent Assembly, and to restore peace along its frontiers by arranging for the settlement of disputes in regard to the boundaries of the Russian State and its relations with its neighbors through the peaceful arbitration of the League of Nations.

They are convinced by their experiences of the last twelve months that it is not possible to attain these ends by dealing with the Soviet Government of Moscow. They are therefore disposed to assist the Government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates with munitions, supplies, and food to establish themselves as the Government of All Russia, provided they receive from them definite guarantees that their policy has the same object in view as the Allied and Associated Powers.

### CONDITIONS OF ASSISTANCE

With this object they would ask Admiral Kolchak and his associates whether they will agree to the following as the conditions upon which they would accept continued assistance from the Allied and Associated Powers:

In the first place, that as soon as they reach Moscow they will summon a Constituent Assembly elected by a free, secret and democratic franchise, as the supreme legislature for Russia to which the Government of Russia must be responsible, or, if at that time order is not sufficiently restored, they will summon the Constituent Assembly elected in 1917 to sit until such time as new elections are possible.

Secondly, that throughout the areas which they at present control they will permit free elections in the normal course for all local and legally constituted assemblies, such as municipalities, Zemstvos, &c.

Thirdly, that they will countenance no attempt to revise the special privilege of any class or order in Russia. The Allied and Associated Powers have noted with satisfaction the solemn declaration made by Admiral Kolchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. They feel that the principles to be followed in the solution of this and other internal questions must be left to the free decision of the Russian Constituent Assembly. But they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for the civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens and will make no attempt to reintroduce the régime which the revolution has destroyed.

Fourthly, that the independence of Finland and Poland be recognized, and that in the event of the frontiers and other relations between Russia and these countries not being settled by agreement, they will be referred to the arbitration of the League of Nations.

### RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Fifthly, that if a solution of the relations between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Caucasian and Trans-Caspian territories and Russia is not speedily reached by agreement, the settlement will be made in consultation and co-operation with the League of Nations, and that until such settlement is made the Government of Russia agrees to recognize these territories as autonomous and to confirm the relations which may exist between their *de facto* Governments and the Allied and Associated Governments.

Sixthly, That the right of the Peace Conference to determine the future of the Rumanian part of Bessarabia be recognized.

Seventhly, that as soon as a Govern-

ment for Russia has been constituted on a democratic basis, Russia should join the League of Nations and co-operate with the other members in the limitation of armaments and of military organizations throughout the world.

Finally, that they abide by the declaration made by Admiral Kolchak on Nov. 27, 1918, in regard to Russia's national debt.

The Allied and Associated Powers will be glad to learn as soon as possible whether the Government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates are prepared to accept these conditions, and also whether in the event of acceptance they will undertake to form a single Government and army command as soon as the military situation makes it possible.

G. CLEMENCEAU,  
LLOYD GEORGE,  
ORLANDO,  
WOODROW WILSON,  
SAIONJI.

#### ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S REPLY

Admiral Kolchak in his reply to the first letter from the Allied and Associated Powers, which resulted in a second letter promising him allied support, stated that he did not intend to retain power longer than required by the interest of the country. He reaffirmed his intention to call elections for the Constituent Assembly as soon as the Bolsheviks had been crushed. The text of the reply, which was received in Paris on June 5, is given herewith:

The Government over which I preside has been happy to learn that the reply, as made public tonight in regard to Russia, is in perfect accordance with the task which the Russian Government itself has undertaken, that Government being anxious above all things to re-establish peace in the country and to assure to the Russian people the right to decide their own destiny in freedom by means of a Constituent Assembly. I appreciate highly the interest shown by the powers as regards the national movement and consider their wish to make certain that the political conditions with which we are inspired are legitimate; I am therefore ready to confirm once more my previous declarations which I have always regarded as irrevocable.

1. On Nov. 18, 1918, I assumed power and I shall not retain that power one day longer than required by the interest of the country; my first thought at the moment when the Bolsheviks are definitely crushed will be to fix the date for the elections of the Constituent Assembly. A commission is now at work on direct

preparation for them on the basis of universal suffrage. Considering myself as responsible for that Constituent Assembly, I shall hand over to it all my powers in order that it may freely determine the system of government; I have, moreover, taken the oath to do this before the Supreme Russian Tribunal, the guardian of legality.

#### OBJECTIONS TO OLD ASSEMBLY

All my efforts are aimed at concluding the civil war as soon as possible by crushing Bolshevism in order to put the Russian people in a position to express its free will. Any prolongation of this struggle would only postpone that moment; the Government, however, does not consider itself authorized to substitute for the inalienable right of free and legal elections the mere establishment of the Assembly of 1917, which was elected under a régime of Bolshevik violence, and a majority of whose members are now in the ranks of the Soviet. It is through the legally elected Constituent Assembly alone, which my Government will do its utmost to convolve properly, that there will be established the sovereign right of deciding the problems of the Russian State both in the internal and external affairs of the country.

2. We gladly consent to discuss at once with the powers all international questions, and in doing so shall aim at the free and peaceful development of the peoples, the limitation of armaments, and the measures calculated to prevent new wars, of which the League of Nations is the highest expression.

The Russian Government thinks, however, that it should recall the fact that the final sanction of the decisions which may be taken in the name of Russia will belong to the Constituent Assembly. Russia cannot now and cannot in the future ever be anything but a democratic State where all questions involving modifications of the territorial frontiers and of external relations must be ratified by a representative body which is the national expression of the people's sovereignty.

3. Considering the creation of a unified Polish State to be one of the chief of the normal and just consequences of the world war, the Government thinks itself justified in confirming the independence of Poland, proclaimed by the Provisional Russian Government of 1917, all the pledges and decrees of which we have accepted. The final solution of the question of delimiting the frontiers between Russia and Poland must, however, in conformity with the principles set forth above, be postponed till the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. We are disposed at once to recognize the *de facto* Government of Finland, but the final so-

lution of the Finnish institution must belong to the Constituent Assembly.

4. We are fully disposed at once to prepare for the solution of the questions concerning the fate of the national groups in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and of the Caucasian and Transcaspian countries, and we have every reason to believe that a prompt settlement will be made, seeing that the Government is assuring at the present time the autonomy of the various nationalities. It goes without saying that the limits and conditions of these autonomous institutions will be settled separately as regards each.

#### LEAGUE TO ADJUST DIFFERENCES

Even in the case difficulties should arise in regard to the solution of these various institutions, the Government is ready to have recourse to the collaboration and good offices of the League of Nations with a view to arriving at a satisfactory settlement.

5. The above principle, implying the satisfaction of the agreements by the Constituent Assembly, should obviously be applied to the question of Bessarabia.

6. The Russian Government once more repeats its declaration of the 27th of November, 1918, by which it accepted the burden of the national debt of Russia.

7. As regards the questions of internal politics which can only interest the powers in so far as they reflect the political tendencies of the Russian Government, I make a point of repeating that there cannot be a return to the régime which existed in Russia before February, 1917. The provisional solution which my Government has adopted in regard to the agrarian question aims at satisfying the interests of the great mass of the population and is inspired by the conviction that Russia can only be flourishing and strong when the millions of Russian peasants receive all guarantees for the possession of the land.

Similarly as regards the régime to be applied to the liberated territories, the Government, far from placing obstacles in the way of the free election of local assemblies, municipalities, and Zemstvos, regards the activities of these bodies and also the development of the people in self-government as the necessary conditions for the reconstruction of the country, and is already actually giving them its support by all the means at its disposal.

8. Having set ourselves the task of re-establishing order and justice and of insuring individual security to the population, which is tired of trials and executions, the Government affirms the equality before the law of all citizens without any special privilege. (An omission here.) All shall receive, without distinction of origin or of religion, the

protection of the State and of the law.

The Government, whose head I am, is concentrating all the forces and all the resources at its disposal in order to accomplish the task which it has set itself; at this decisive hour I speak in the name of all national Russia. I am confident that, Bolshevism once crushed, satisfactory solutions will be found for all questions which equally concern all those populations whose existence is bound up with that of Russia. KOLCHAK.

#### ALLIES PROMISE SUPPORT

The reply sent by the Council of Four on June 12 extended to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in the original letter of the Council. This was interpreted in Paris as meaning de facto recognition of the Omsk Government. The reply reads as follows:

The Allied and Associated Powers wish to acknowledge the receipt of Admiral Kolchak's reply to their note of May 26. They welcome the terms of that reply, which seem to them to be in substantial agreement with the propositions they had made and to contain satisfactory assurances for the freedom, self-government, and peace of the Russian people and their neighbors.

They are therefore willing to extend to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in their original letter.

(Signed) LLOYD GEORGE,  
WILSON,  
CLEMENCEAU,  
MAKINO.

In form it was not strictly a recognition of the Omsk Government which was announced by the Allies; the powers pledged themselves to assist Admiral Kolchak and his associates to become the Government of all Russia; they did not in terms recognize them as this Government. But the form was of minor importance; the Governments of the Allied Powers agreed to furnish food, munitions, and supplies to the Kolchak group, which agreement in effect put the Bolsheviks in a position of rebellion against a lawful Government.

Regarding Kolchak's refusal to recall the old Assembly dispersed by the Bolsheviks in 1917, it should be borne in mind that of the anti-Bolshevist members of that Assembly—the Social Revolutionaries had a majority—many have been killed off and many others driven into exile. What remains is a "rump" Assembly, which is largely Bolshevik.

# Finland and Germany During the War

By WERNER SODERHJELM

[Translated From the Norse by Alfred Farmer, B. A., for CURRENT HISTORY]

**W**HEN the world war broke out there was awakened all over Finland the hope that the great events which were taking place would create a change in the uncertain, increasingly bad conditions under Russian oppression. It was hoped that Russia's allies, the Western Powers, who had always exhibited a great interest in Finland, and who announced as their motto "the liberation of the small nations," would exert some influence on behalf of our country with their eastern ally. The French had on several occasions tried to exercise pressure on Russia to moderate her attempts at Russification and to re-establish the Finnish Constitution, but these attempts resulted only in the issue of a manifesto proclaiming Finland's complete subjection to Russia.

The longer the war lasted, the more evident it became to many that they would have to go further and demand complete Finnish independence, since that alone could create a lasting foundation for the country's future. Since the Western Powers had formed a definite alliance with our oppressors, and naturally could not be expected to support efforts which might injure Russia, the Finnish people came at length to place their hopes chiefly in Germany, whose advantages and interests were opposed to those of Russia.

But before that we had turned our eyes toward Sweden. It was thought that Sweden would adhere to Russia's opponents, not only for her own direct advantage, but because a real danger seemed to threaten through Russia's appearance on the Aland Islands. The radical supporters of independence in our country, therefore, sought a point of contact with those elements in Sweden which were strongly in favor of defensive action.

At the same time leading men in Finland put themselves into communication with the Germans by sending trust-

worthy men to Germany to seek to arouse interest in the destiny of Finland. In the latter part of 1915, also, there began among the Finnish young people a patriotic movement which led to the establishment of the Finnish Light-armed Battalion. This activity among the young people was in no way opposed to efforts for the independence of Finland, particularly with the assistance of Sweden, and its adhesion to a Scandinavian Alliance.

Although it sometimes seemed as if, either willingly or unwillingly, Sweden would be drawn into the maelstrom of the war, nevertheless it became by degrees the settled conviction of the Swedish people that their country should preserve its neutrality. But the weaker the sympathies of Sweden for Finland grew, the stronger became our hope that Germany, which had been so successful against Russia, would bring about the liberation of Finland. Nevertheless, there was a steady reluctance to adopt a purely German point of view as long as there was the smallest hope that Sweden would take up Finland's cause.

## VAIN HOPE BASED ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Along these lines the Finnish political operations were continued, under difficult conditions both at home and abroad, until the Russian revolution broke out in March, 1917. For a while it seemed as if this would lead us into entirely new paths. It was believed in influential circles that it would now be possible to obtain a really permanent understanding with Russia. The most zealous champions of independence, however, maintained that this hope rested upon a false foundation, and that therefore a decisive independence program was just as important as ever.

Again, our hopes were centred chiefly in Sweden, which now seemed to have an excellent opportunity to speak a weighty

word for the liberation of Finland and her own future security, even if she would not throw her sword into the balance. But when a representation was made to the Swedish Government on private initiative, the matter returned from the Foreign Ministry without discussion.

#### GERMANY'S SYMPATHIES

In Germany it was better understood that the revolution in Russia would not result in any new fellowship between Russia and Finland. It is true that the German political leaders were careful not to give any definite promise, but in the early part of 1917 it was quite certain that the German Government would support Finland's demands, even if these involved the country's complete independence.

As the internal condition of Russia became more and more confused, the question of peace with Germany came into continually greater prominence. In order that Finland's demand should not be neglected or overlooked it was regarded as necessary to establish two premises. The first was that at least a portion of the Finnish domain should be liberated from the Russian dominion. Since Sweden did not feel disposed even to take diplomatic steps by which the international importance of the Finnish question might be established, but instead entered into an advantageous agreement with Russia regarding the Aland Islands, it was considered desirable by the Finnish leaders that a large part of Finland, and especially the Aland Islands, should be provisionally occupied by Germany. But events had not yet carried us so far. The other premise which it was desired to establish, namely, the declaration of Finland's independence before the conclusion of the separate peace between Germany and Russia, became a reality in December, 1917. The independence of Finland was recognized by France, but not by England, America, and Italy. It may be added that all attempts to obtain the necessities of life for Finland from the allied powers failed; we could not even get permission from America to ship out

what we had already bought and paid for.

The care of Finland's foreign interests, which had hitherto been unofficial and based only upon private initiative, was now placed in the hands of official international representatives. The fact that Sweden recognized the independence of the Finnish State at the same time as Germany, and even sent its reply two days earlier, made a good impression upon the people of Finland, and awakened hopes of a closer political connection between the two countries in spite of all the opposition which it must arouse.

#### THE BOLSHEVIST WAR

But Finnish independence had to pass through the fiery ordeal before it could be regarded as a reality. The Bolsheviks had acknowledged our independence, but they nevertheless showed a strong disinclination to liberate the country from the Russian dominion. The Russian troops remained in Finland, incessantly interfering in its internal affairs, and at the end of January, 1918, there began a long and bitter conflict which was both a civil war and a fight for freedom.

In the fateful period which was therewith ushered in, it was extremely difficult to keep up communication between the lawful Finnish Government and its representatives abroad, who were compelled to act on their own responsibility in situations of peculiar importance. Although these events are not yet set forth with perfect clearness in all particulars, the following may serve to elucidate them.

Considering the astonishing rapidity with which the Finnish People's Army was organized under a brilliant leadership, also the return of the light-armed Finnish battalion trained in Germany, and finally the significant quantity of war material received from Germany, (as well as from private sources in Sweden,) it is not strange that the so-called "white" Finland began to feel confident of success. It was believed that our "white" army could defeat the "Reds" and the Russian troops, who were receiving continual re-inforcements from the east, without foreign assistance.

The Government at Vasa, which was not sufficiently informed of the condition of affairs in Southern Finland and knew nothing about the suspense with which we awaited assistance and rescue from the north, for a long time adopted the view that no other help should be desired, except what was given in the form of war material. This proved to be entirely too optimistic a view, for if Finland had been compelled to depend entirely upon her own troops the whole Southern portion would have been ruined, culturally and materially, a large part of the educated classes would have been murdered, and a terrible famine would have threatened the great majority of the people.

#### ASKING GERMANY FOR AID

Insufficient notice was taken of the fact that the Finnish People's Army, in order to put down the revolution, must possess large quantities of weapons; indeed, the whole result of the war depended upon this. But, to judge from all the circumstances, such decisive assistance in the form of munitions could be obtained only in connection with an intervention. In other words, if German troops did not come to Finland, the army of the Finnish Government could not compare in its equipment with the armies of Russia and the "Reds."

The Finnish leaders still did their utmost to get Sweden to assist in our direst need; but our representatives in Germany would have committed an indefensible action if they had not raised the question of German intervention in the civil war in Finland. This question had been brought up before the departure of the light-armed battalion, but the official request was not made until later, as will appear from the following:

On Feb. 3, 1918, there was handed to State Councilor Gripenberg, Finland's representative in Stockholm, by the Swedish Foreign Office, a telegram with the following contents:

Complete anarchy reigns here. Strong measures should be taken in the direction of intervention from Sweden and Germany.

The telegram had been sent from the Swedish General Consul at Helsingfors,

whose benevolent mediation had to be employed in all reports of political importance, since the telegraph system at that point was still in the power of the Bolsheviks, and all telegrams were strictly censored. State Councilor Gripenberg regarded the telegram as having been sent in reality by P. E. Svinhufvud, President of the Senate. That this suspicion was correct appears from the fact that on Feb. 15 Svinhufvud dispatched a communication to the Finnish Minister in Berlin, State Councilor Hjelt, in which he emphasized the necessity of foreign assistance. The form of the assistance to be rendered was left to the decision of those who would come to Finland's rescue. Minister Hjelt did not receive the letter until four weeks after it had been sent. By that time Judge Svinhufvud himself was in Berlin.

Further, on Feb. 19, Judge Svinhufvud sent a private letter to the King of Sweden giving him a faithful picture of the situation, to be of service in case the Swedish authorities should think it right and just to intervene in Finnish affairs.

#### LAST APPEAL TO SWEDEN

State Councilor Gripenberg naturally hastened to inform the Government of Sweden regarding conditions and opinion in Finland, at first through an oral report to the proper authorities. In his report on Feb. 13 he said that he had delivered to the Swedish Foreign Minister the telegram just referred to. On the day just preceding he had already telegraphed home that the Swedish Government would not permit the export and conveyance of munitions, a fact which must have come to light in the oral conversation between the Swedish Foreign Minister and himself. The contents of this telegram, of course, compelled State Councilor Gripenberg also to make further appeal to Minister Hjelt in Berlin.

Councilor Gripenberg on Feb. 18 handed to the Swedish Government through the Foreign Minister the following communication:

Your Excellency: In repeated conversations with you I have had occasion to inform the Swedish Government of the extreme condition of need in which large portions of Finland now stand, and the fearful destiny which has already struck

so many of my fellow-countrymen, and which, with absolute certainty, still awaits many others. I have acquainted your Excellency with the inadequate equipment of the defense corps and have set forth how they must fight against a well-armed adversary who is abundantly supplied with artillery, machine guns, armored cars and trains. I have related the necessity of the most immediate provision of arms and ammunition for the troops of the Finnish Government in sufficient quantities, and after emphasizing that every day's delay meant the greatest peril to them, I have asked your Excellency if the Finnish Government might buy war material from the supplies of the Swedish State. I have set before your Excellency the necessity that my Government should get permission to export from Sweden and transport arms and ammunition. Finally, according to an order from the Government of Finland to the Royal Swedish Government, I have expressed a request for armed intervention in Finland for the protection not only of the lives and property of the numerous Finnish, Swedish, and foreign inhabitants, but also for the important cultural values which are now threatened with annihilation.

#### ALL APPEALS IN VAIN

It has been a great happiness to me to receive from your Excellency repeated assurances of the sympathy with which you regard the people of Finland in their life-and-death conflict with foreign armies and native revolutionists. Nor have I failed to report to my Government these expressions of sympathy, so precious to it, or to inform it of the measures which the Royal Swedish Government has taken to make it easier for the troops of the Finnish Government to solve their difficult problems. I need not again emphasize to you the gratitude which my Government feels for these facts, but on the other hand I regard it as my duty to inform you that these things do not assist the people of Finland.

From the conversations I have had with your Excellency and his Excellency the Minister of State regarding the question of permission for the Swedish Government to ship in arms and ammunition from the supplies of the Swedish State, as well as to export and transport war materials through Sweden, I have been compelled to draw the conclusion that the Swedish Government considered it impossible to consent. My request for armed intervention was answered by the Royal Government with an intimation that the Swedish Government would be willing to arbitrate in the Finnish civil war, which intimation I immediately transmitted to my Government. I have just received from it the reply that the Government considers arbitration altogether impos-

sible. It values to the full the noble and humane views which have thus actuated the Royal Swedish Government, but it is none the less necessary to decline the proffered arbitration, first and foremost on the ground of principle, but also for technical reasons.

#### NO COMPROMISE WITH ANARCHY

The conflict which is now being fought out in Finland is not a class war of the usual sort; it does not represent a break between opposing social or political views, but is, on the contrary, a collision between the representatives of the law-abiding orders of society—of the Parliamentary system and quiet progress—and the representatives of purely terrorist anarchy. Although it cannot be denied that in the ranks of the revolutionists there are to be found convinced idealists, nevertheless every sympathetic spectator must concede that these can neither control nor even exert an appreciable influence upon the anarchistic movement in the country or on the undisciplined hordes of Russian soldiers who make common cause with it. The Government of Finland cannot think for one moment of recognizing a league of criminals, who forcibly violate all Divine and human laws, as a belligerent party with whom it is possible to enter into negotiations.

Further, of the utmost importance in this regard is the circumstance that the opponents of the Finnish Government, as far as the majority of them are concerned, are entirely devoid of a common, organized leadership recognized by themselves; so that negotiations with these adversaries would be entirely worthless for technical reasons.

For the reasons aforesaid, the Government of Finland regrets that it cannot fall in with the proposition of the Royal Swedish Government. The people of Finland have no other resort but to continue the fight. But, on the other hand, they cannot conceal from themselves the fact that if foreign assistance is not forthcoming the situation will become desperate. If immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities the Finnish Government's troops had been able to obtain arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities there would have been no doubt of the result. But, of course, this has been impossible; therefore, hundreds of people have lost their lives, while the Russian troops in Finland have received continual reinforcements of men and arms.

#### DESPERATE SITUATION

At the same time as the Finnish Defence Corps, in spite of their lack of equipment and arms, are holding the northern and middle portions of the country in their possession, and are everywhere exposed to

attack from the far superior and much better armed Russian troops and revolutionary divisions, in Southern Finland the most fearful terrorism prevails. There is already famine in the capital, and if assistance does not soon come, those who have hitherto escaped the violence of the Russian and native banditti will be exposed to death from famine.

In this situation the Government of Finland finds itself compelled again to request the Royal Swedish Government for armed intervention. Without speedy and effective assistance it cannot be long before the fate of the Finnish Defence Corps is sealed and also the future of Finland therewith decided. Every day's delay means unforeseen peril, violent death to hundreds of human beings, the ruin of thousands of homes, and the devastation of vast areas.

Accept, your Excellency, the assurance of my highest esteem.

The next day State Councillor Gripenberg handed to Foreign Minister Hellner a new communication, in which he reminded him that this was not the first occasion on which he had asked for armed assistance for the Defence Corps and that in the interval reports had come in from Finland which made it clear that the provision of arms and ammunition would not permit of the least delay—and finally he must again request permission to export from Sweden certain more accurately specified quantities of war material, which the Finnish Government had purchased there.

#### GERMAN INTERVENTION

Side by side with Finland's official diplomatic representative there were operating in Stockholm at this time other officially accredited Finns whose duty it was to inform both the Government and the public of Finland's needs. A deputation of peasants also visited Norway and Denmark. All their requests were refused.

In these circumstances it was necessary to bring before the German Government the question of assistance, which should not be limited to the dispatch of war material.

Almost at the same time as State Councillor Gripenberg received the above-mentioned telegram from Swedish Consul General Ahlstrom at Helsingfors, Senator Renval, the head of the Finnish Government, which had been moved to

Vasa, in a communication dated Feb. 7, had given Minister Hjelt full authority to inquire how far Germany would be willing to go in the direction of sending armed assistance to Finland. On Feb. 14, therefore, a communication was sent to the German Highest Command, signed by Minister Hjelt and Professor Erick, who was living in Berlin, having been sent there on a special mission by the Finnish Government. Some time afterward Minister Hjelt received an invitation to appear at the headquarters of the German Army, and there he was greeted with the announcement that an armed intervention, which was at first to embrace only the Aland Islands and afterward extend to the rest of Finland, might be expected from Germany. At the beginning of March Mr. Svinhufvud arrived in Berlin and ratified the step which Minister Hjelt had taken.

Even at this stage a German expedition to Finland might not have been necessary if Sweden had been disposed to lend Finland a helping hand. As far as Germany was concerned she would have preferred that Sweden take over the whole matter. \* \* \* The representatives of Finland abroad would have acted foolishly if, from delicacy toward Sweden, they had neglected to avail themselves of the assistance which was eventually to be obtained from Germany.

But the German expedition to Finland might also have been avoided if Russia had observed the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and immediately withdrawn her troops from Finland. The Finns could then have put down the revolution with their own forces. But since Russia did not observe this article in the treaty of peace Germany had a good right to interfere and to contribute toward the creation of such relations between Finland and Russia as were in agreement with the recognized independence of Finland and with the provisions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Such, in brief, is the story of Finland's quest for assistance. The question of how far the coveted intervention from Sweden could have accomplished what the German intervention achieved, namely, the complete expulsion of the Russians from Finland, is another matter,

# First Flight Across the Atlantic

## Story of the Great Adventure in Which a United States Naval Airplane Crossed the Ocean

[For Illustrations See Rotogravure Frontispiece Group]

ONE of the greatest adventures ever undertaken by men—the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean by aerial flight—was attempted by both American and British aviators in May, 1919. Some of the Americans who dared the dangers of this crossing knew the joy of Columbus when he first spied the hazy outline of the New World coast. Others met with failure, through no fault of their own, but owing either to the defects inherent in all machinery or to stress of weather. Two British aviators, staking all on the desperate resolve to reach the other hemisphere by direct flight, disappeared from the world's knowledge for six days, and were considered lost in midocean until news came that they had been rescued. Two others later achieved success and fame.

Curiously enough, the project of transatlantic flight developed in America as a national, not a private, enterprise, and the pioneer airmen who reached Portugal from Newfoundland were enlisted men in the service of the United States Navy; the British attempt, on the other hand, was purely a private venture. Harry Hawker and Lieutenant Commander Grieve flew to fulfill the conditions of a \$50,000 prize offered by The London Daily Mail. Captain Raynham, another British competitor for the same prize, met with disaster in "hopping off" and had to give up the project for a time. The story of how the prize was finally won by Captain Alcock and Lieutenant Brown is given on Page 112.

### THE AMERICAN VENTURE

The "NC" flying boats—the "N" for Navy and the "C" for Curtiss, these two combined letters indicating the joint production of the United States Navy and the Curtiss Engineering Corporation—have an interesting history. This airplane type is not only of extraordinary size, but of unusual construction, and

represents an original American development. According to a statement issued by Acting Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, the design was initiated in the Fall of 1917 by Rear Admiral D. W. Taylor, chief instructor in the navy, who had in mind the development of a seaplane of the maximum size, radius of action, and weight-carrying ability for use in putting down the submarine menace. The first of this type was completed and tested in October, 1918, and three more were subsequently completed, respectively baptized the NC-1, NC-2, NC-3, and NC-4. Their characteristics may be described as follows:

TYPE—Tractor biplane, carrying a crew of five or six men. Social wheel control.

MOTORS—Four Liberty "twelves" of 400 horse power each, or a total of 1,600 horse power.

WINGS—Upper wing span, 126 feet from tip to tip. Lower wing, 94 feet.

HULL—Fifty feet long. From prow to rudders, which are raised on trusses back of the stern of the hull, 68 feet 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches over all.

HEIGHT—Keel to wireless antenna, 25 feet.

WING AREA—Including ailerons, 2,380 square feet.

GROSS LOAD—28,000 pounds.

DRAFT—When full, 31 inches.

FUEL CAPACITY—Gasoline, 2,000 gallons; oil, 170 gallons.

SPEED—Eighty miles an hour.

It was the intention of the Navy Department to fly a fleet of these planes overseas, and if the war had continued this intention would have been fulfilled as an important part of the general aerial program to defeat Germany. The arrangements made for the flight that was actually accomplished, including the stationing of a bridge of ships across the Atlantic, involved the same organization that would have been necessary for the war program. The use of the NC type was strictly in line with the original plan, and had the nature of a service trial.

Of the four seaplanes of this type created the NC-1 was considered to be the best; despite seven months of hard service and the rough handling due to use in training other NC officers, it was still, at the time of the departure for Halifax, (the first leg of the transatlantic flight,) in excellent condition. The NC-2 was reserved as a trial-ship, and only the NC-1, NC-3, and NC-4 attempted the flight across the ocean.

Plans for the flight were in process of making as early as March 22, 1919, when six officers of the navy and one of the Marine Corps were assigned to the transatlantic section of the office of the Director of Naval Aviation for the preparation of such plans. By March 24 Rockaway Beach, L. I., had been chosen as the point of departure, and the destroyer Barney had been ordered to proceed to Newfoundland for the purpose of determining the best base from which the planes could fly overseas. The plan of flying from the initial base to Newfoundland, the real starting point, was conceived deliberately to allow refueling and any alterations or repairs which the covering of this first leg should prove to be necessary. Meanwhile each of the three planes, which had been conveyed to Rockaway Beach, was equipped with Liberty Motors, having 1,000 to 1,200 combined horse power, and experiments were begun in their arrangement and in the choice of propellers; changes made in the hulls allowed a greater storage capacity of gasoline, and quarters in the hulls were provided for the crew when not engaged in actual operation of the machines.

Test trials at Rockaway Beach toward the end of March gave auspicious results, one of the NC boats leaving the water with 26,000 pounds gross load, as against the 22,000 believed at one time to be the limit of carrying capacity. This test demonstrated that these craft could carry sufficient gasoline to cross from Newfoundland to the Azores Islands without alighting for fuel. The trial flights went on continuously from April 22. The planes were taken out day after day from the hangars, where expert workmen were constantly experimenting to bring

them to the highest point of perfection, a process known as "tuning-up." The NC-1, as a result of the experiments, was fitted with four engines instead of three; all the planes intended for the flight were thus made identical in structure and equipment.

Meanwhile it was announced by Commander John H. Towers, chief of the NC seaplane activities at the Rockaway Air Station, that the details of the destroyer and dreadnought patrols to be stationed along the entire course of the contemplated flight had been completed; the advance guard had already sailed, and others were scheduled to leave daily. Ultimately half a hundred destroyers, cruisers, and dreadnoughts took part in the work of patrolling the route.

#### PERSONNEL OF SQUADRON

Each of the crews of the three NO ships to attempt the flight, as officially announced, included six members: One commanding officer, designated to be the navigator; two pilots, one radio operator, one engineer, and one reserve pilot engineer to take the place of any one incapacitated by illness during the preparation period. The official list of the three crews is given herewith:

##### NC-3 (FLAGSHIP)

Commanding Officer—Commander J. H. Towers, U. S. N.

Pilot—Commander H. C. Richardson, Construction Corps, U. S. N.

Pilot—Lieutenant D. H. McCullough, U. S. N. R. F.

Radio Operator—Lieutenant Commander R. A. Lavender, U. S. N.

Engineer—Machinist L. R. Moore, U. S. N.

Reserve Pilot Engineer—Lieutenant (J. G.) B. Rhodes, U. S. N.

##### PERSONNEL OF NC-4

Commanding Officer—Lieutenant Commander A. C. Read, U. S. N.

Pilot—Lieutenant E. F. Stone, U. S. C. G.

Pilot—Lieutenant (J. G.) W. Hinton, U. S. N.

Radio Operator—Ensign H. C. Rodd, U. S. N. R. F.

Engineer—Chief Special Mechanic E. C. Rhodes, U. S. N.

Reserve Pilot Engineer—Lieutenant J. L. Breese, U. S. N. R. F.

##### PERSONNEL OF NC-1

Commanding Officer—Lieutenant Commander P. N. L. Bellinger, U. S. N.

Pilot—Lieutenant Commander M. A. Mitscher, U. S. N.  
Pilot—Lieutenant L. T. Barin, U. S. N. R. F.  
Radio Operator—Lieutenant (J. G.) H. Sadenwater, U. S. N. R. F.  
Engineer—Chief Machinist Mate C. I. Kesler, U. S. N.  
Reserve Pilot Engineer—Machinist R. Christensen, U. S. N.

A temporary addition was made in the person of Lieut. Commander Richard Evelyn Byrd, Jr., who assisted in the preparation of plans for the flight, procured instruments, and accompanied the planes to Newfoundland to observe the working of the instruments provided.

#### COURSE ANNOUNCED

The course to be followed by the three NC planes was officially announced on May 2. It was to be as follows:

Naval Air Station, Rockaway, to Halifax, N. S.—540 nautical miles.

Halifax to Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland—460 nautical miles.

Trepassey Bay to Horta, Isle of Fayal, Azores—1,200 nautical miles, (or, if conditions are favorable, to Punta Delgada, Isle of San Miguel, Azores—1,350 nautical miles.)

Horta, Azores, to Lisbon, Portugal, 950 miles, (or, if conditions warrant, Punta Delgada, Azores, to Lisbon—800 nautical miles.)

The statement issued by Commander Towers explained that the actual transatlantic flight would be regarded as from Trepassey, N. F., to Lisbon, Portugal. That is, if the ships flew from the Western to the Eastern Hemisphere, the navy would consider that they had accomplished the cross-ocean journey. But the statement of plans added:

It is expected to proceed from Lisbon to Plymouth, England, a distance of 775 nautical miles.

The average speed of the seaplanes, disregarding wind, was about 65 nautical miles (74.75 land miles) per hour. Arrangements had been made to have base ships, with necessary gasoline, oil, &c., at the various ports named, and these ships had a special equipment in order that the refueling could be accomplished quickly.

Formal exercises commissioning the craft in the United States Navy were held at the air station at Rockaway Beach on May 2. With the crews and

the staff of the air station standing at attention near the planes, the American flag was raised at the rear of the pontoon hull of each airboat, a commission pennant was flown from the prow, and the navy flag was placed at the centre. This was the first time such exercises were held for United States Navy airplanes. At the end of the ceremony, Captain Powers Symington, Chief of Staff of the Third Naval Station, assigned the command of the air squadron to Commander Towers.

#### FLIGHT TO HALIFAX

The seaplanes began the historic effort to cross the Atlantic through the air at 9:59 o'clock in the morning of May 7. The start on the first leg to Halifax was from the Naval Air Station on Rockaway Beach, opposite Barren Island, New York, and five minutes after Commander Towers waved his farewell to the 500 well-wishers on the beach the three giant seaplanes were in the air, their noses pointed northeast, and the first organized effort to fly from America to Europe was under way.

Two of the planes reached Halifax the next day at 8 o'clock, (7 o'clock New York time.) This first flight, 540 nautical miles, took exactly nine hours. The NC-4, however, was missing.

During this first flight the planes were in constant touch by wireless with the Navy Department; they kept an official log, which was flashed through the ether and given out by the department after the safe arrival of the NC-1 and NC-3 at Halifax. This log was believed to be the first of its kind ever issued. By its means the department knew that the missing plane, the NC-4, in charge of Commander Read, had had trouble with its oil pump and was running on three engines. After passing the first of the destroyers stationed on the long lap from Chatham Lighthouse to Seal Island, the NC-4 dropped out of wireless touch and was not heard from until the following day, May 9, when it was learned that this plane had been forced by engine trouble to come down at sea, and had proceeded under its own power to Chatham Bar, on the Massa-

chusetts coast, where repairs had been begun, and whence Commander Read reported his intention to continue his flight.

#### PLANES REACH TREPASSEY

Meantime the NC-1 and NC-3, not waiting for the NC-4, took flight from Halifax in the morning of May 10, and reached Trepassey Harbor, N. F., at 4:14 and 7:50 A. M., respectively, landing safely despite a thirty-mile gale and a choppy sea. The NC-1 had made the trip without mishap or incident; the NC-3 had put back to Halifax, after flying some fifty miles, to repair a badly balanced centre propeller, losing thereby some ninety-five minutes. The delayed plane covered the 537 land miles on its second start in 6 hours 50 minutes, or six minutes less than the time taken by the more fortunate NC-1.

The two planes lay-to awaiting a favorable moment for departure. They had just completed an unsuccessful attempt to get away on May 15, when the NC-4 arrived at Trepassey. The report of Commander Read showed that the NC-4, after repairs at Chatham, had flown to Halifax at an average speed of 98 miles. Forced to stay overnight at Halifax, she had risen a-wing in the morning of May 15, and after a descent of half an hour at Stoney Head for repairs had resumed her flight at 11:47, covering the 460-mile trip in 6 hours and 20 minutes, at an average speed of 72.6 miles an hour, and reaching Trepassey at 6:41 that evening.

The three planes, thus reunited, went to their moorings, and began preparations for a common departure at the first favorable moment.

#### HISTORIC FLIGHT BEGUN

This moment came on Friday, May 16, at a little after 6 o'clock in the evening. The three planes made their start for the Azores almost simultaneously, in the following time and order:

NC-3 at 6:06 P. M., New York time, (22:06 Greenwich mean time.)

NC-4 at 6:07 P. M., New York time, (22:07 Greenwich mean time.)

NC-1 at 6:09 P. M., New York time, (22:09 Greenwich mean time.)

As the three planes rose from the wa-

ter, and just as they entered the narrows leading from Trepassey Harbor into Mutton Bay, the NC-3, Commander Towers's flagplane, was leading. Then came the NC-1, captained by Lieut. Commander Bellinger, and then the NC-4, skippered by Lieut. Commander Read. They curved gracefully into the sight of the shore watchers as they cleared Powles's Head high in the air, swept to the left in a long, gentle curve, and headed eastward for the open sea.

For barely three minutes the three seaplanes, perhaps two miles apart, stood out on the horizon in the still bright sunlight, keeping the regular division formation. Then the leading plane, and quickly after her the other two, disappeared from view, committed to the greatest journey aviators had ever undertaken.

Wireless dispatches indicated throughout the night that the three planes were speeding toward their goal. About 3 o'clock in the morning of May 17, the Navy Department received word that the NC-4, which seemed to be leading, had passed Station 12, (the destroyer Meredith,) at 1:53 A. M., New York time. The Meredith was about 680 miles out from Trepassey or more than half way to the Azores. A little later Bar Harbor reported that the NC-1 had passed Station 13, the destroyer Bush, at 2:36 A. M., New York time. This was about 740 miles from Trepassey. She had passed the NC-4. At 3:30 the Navy received this flash cable from the Melville, at Ponta Delgada:

NC-4 passed Station Ship 14, the destroyer Cowell, at 7:06 G. M. T. (3:06 New York time.)

This was 800 miles out from Trepassey. The NC-4 had again taken the lead. The Cape Race station reported to Washington about 3 A. M. that the NC-4 in an intercepted message told of all three planes passing Station 11, (the Kalk.)

At 10:07 in the morning the last report received was: The NC-4 had passed Station 16 at 08:30 Greenwich mean time, (4:30 New York time;) the NC-1 had passed Station 13 at 07:13 G. M. T. (3:13 New York time;) the NC-3 had passed Station 9 at 04:10 G. M. T., (12:10 New York time.) It was thus made evident that the NC-4 was far in the lead.

### REACHING THE AZORES

The tidings that the first honors of the ocean flight had been won by the NC-4, (Commander Read's plane,) which had been last from New York to Newfoundland, reached Washington at 10:59 A. M., May 17. A message sent from the Columbia, the destroyer stationed at Horta, Azores Islands, at 12:25 G. M. T., (9:20 A. M.,) read as follows: "NC-4 arrived at Horta." The NC-1 had passed Station 18, while the NC-3 was reported off her course.

The fate of the two seaplanes following the lead of the NC-4 was subsequently cleared up by wireless. The NC-1 had been forced to alight on May 17 at 8:19 A. M., New York time, near Corvo. The last news of the "flagship," the NC-3, had reached the Columbia at Horta at 5:14, when it was reported that she had asked for compass signals near Station 18. Destroyers had begun search for both the missing planes.

After a long quest the Harding got into touch with the NC-1, which had been wrecked and abandoned after five hours of tossing on the rough seas, and later reported that her crew had been rescued by the steamship Ionia east of Flores and Corvo of the Azores group, about 110 miles west of Fayal. The NC-3 had been missing forty-eight hours on Monday, May 19. Her fate was cleared up the next day by a dispatch from Commander Towers himself stating that the NC-3 had arrived at Ponta Delgada at 1:50 P. M. on May 19, after heavy buffeting by high seas for over fifty-two hours. She was first sighted seven miles outside Ponta Delgada operating under her own power.

### REPORT OF COMMANDER TOWERS

Commander Towers's report of the NC-3 was as follows:

We arrived at Ponta Delgada at 17:50, G. M. T., (1:50 P. M., New York time,) on May 19. We were compelled to go above the clouds at Station 8 on account of the failure of the lights on the pilot's instrument board and the necessity of having the heavenly bodies for reference.

The last destroyer we sighted was No. 13. We came through the clouds at day-break, but missed Destroyer 14. I believe we were thrown off our course by the

high velocity of the upper winds, but laid a parallel course.

We encountered heavy rain squalls at 7 o'clock, G. M. T., (3:45 A. M., New York time,) on May 17, which continued until 11:30, G. M. T., (9:30 A. M., New York time,) when the weather cleared and we decided to land to make observations, as we had only two hours' fuel left.

We discovered the heavy sea running too late to remain in the air. This slightly damaged the hull and seriously damaged the centre forward engine struts on landing, which made it impossible to leave the water.

Observations showed this position to be 37:45 north, 30:25 west.

A gale arose on the evening of the 17th, which was ridden out successfully until 9 o'clock, Greenwich mean time, (5 A. M., New York time,) May 19, when we lost the port wing pontoon.

The seaplane suffered severely, but succeeded in riding out the gale, and, by sailing a total distance of 205 miles, made moorings at Ponta Delgada under our own power at 17:50, G. M. T., (1:50 P. M., New York time,) May 19, having lost our starboard pontoon just outside the harbor.

### TOWERS.

The bearings given in Towers's report show that he landed ninety nautical miles almost due south of Station 22, the Harding, and Station 23, the Gridley. This is about fifty-three miles west of Princess Alice Bank, ninety-five miles from Horta, but 200 miles from Ponta Delgada.

### BELLINGER'S REPORT

Lieut. Commander P. N. L. Bellinger, the commander of the NC-1, gave out the following statement on May 19 from the Columbia:

The NC-1 was the last plane to take the air at Trepassey, doing so at 10:10 P. M. Friday, Greenwich time, [22:00 Greenwich mean time.] We proceeded on the course, being guided by the smoke and searchlights from the destroyers, and the star shells they sent up. After passing most of the station ships we did not meet with any trouble until we got into fog at 11:10 A. M. Saturday, when we were near Station 18. After being in the fog for some time we alighted on the water at 1:10 P. M. Saturday.

We kept to our course until we struck the fog, when we lost our bearings. We deemed it advisable to head into the wind, toward land, to get our bearings before proceeding. We were then flying about 3,000 feet up. We dropped to fifty feet in order to sight water, and found that the wind was in a different direction on the surface of the water than it was above,

and also that the fog was more dense at the lower altitude.

We made a good landing on the sea, which was rough and choppy with heavy swells. The strong wind continued until we were picked up.

At 6 P. M., (Greenwich time,) we sighted the masts of the Ionia on its way to Fayal and Gibraltar above the horizon. We were unable to see the hull of the Ionia, and, as she did not have wireless, we were unable to communicate with her. We therefore started taxiing toward her. About this time the Ionia sighted us, and lowered a boat which picked us up at 6:20 P. M. Our position when we were picked up was latitude 39 degrees 58 minutes north, longitude 30 degrees 15 minutes west. We tried to salvage the plane, but the towlines of the Ionia broke and we were forced to give up the attempt.

We were rescued with difficulty because the small boat of the Ionia was tossed about like a cork. All of us were seasick, otherwise we did not suffer.

We sent out S O S calls after landing, but the radio sending radius was only fifty miles on the surface of the water. While awaiting rescue we intercepted messages between destroyers. We last heard the radio of the NC-3 at 9:15 o'clock Saturday morning.

If the fog had not been so thick we could have continued to Ponta Delgada. Our engines worked splendidly throughout. The average altitude of the flight was between 500 and 3,500 feet.

#### REPORT OF COMMANDER READ

On his arrival at Ponta Delgada Lieut. Commander Read filed a brief report with Commander Towers on the voyage of the NC-4 from Newfoundland to Ponta Delgada. The report was very brief and was cabled to the Navy Department by Commander Towers, through Rear Admiral Jackson, the ranking officer at Ponta Delgada. It showed that after the NC-4 passed the destroyer Stockton, the seventeenth vessel, it sighted no other destroyers until after it had passed Corvo, on the way to Horta. From Newfoundland until the Stockton was passed the men in the NC-4 sighted every destroyer in the line of the bridge of ships.

After passing the Stockton, the NC-4 ran into a fog bank and mastered the situation by climbing up to an altitude of 3,300 feet at 11:27 Greenwich mean time and picked up the destroyer Harding at 12:10 Greenwich mean time, but this was after the Island of Flores had

been passed by the seaplane. By rising out of the fog bank to the high elevation given and picking out the Island of Flores the commander of the NC-4 got his course straight and then picked up the destroyer Harding. After that the weather cleared, but another fog was encountered and Station 23, the destroyer Gridley, was missed, but Commander Read picked up the Island of Fayal and made his landing safely at Horta on Saturday morning.

#### CROSSED IN FIFTEEN HOURS

Commander Read's report stated that the elapsed time for his voyage from Newfoundland to Horta was fifteen hours and eighteen minutes and that his average speed for the whole distance of 1,200 miles was 78.40 miles an hour. Adding one hour and forty-five minutes, which represents the elapsed time of the additional lap of 150 miles from Horta to Ponta Delgada, Commander Read and his companions in the NC-4 covered the total stretch of 1,350 miles from Trespass Bay to Ponta Delgada in seventeen hours and three minutes, which is considered a noteworthy performance for the sustained operation of a machine carrying about 28,000 pounds, including a crew of six men, part of the distance under adverse weather conditions.

Secretary Daniels, on hearing of the safe arrival of Commander Towers, cabled his congratulations. General Pershing cabled to Secretary Daniels:

Please accept my congratulations and those of the entire A. E. F. on the magnificent feat of the naval airmen, who have added another brilliant page to American achievement and to the proud record of the navy.

#### NC-4 AT PONTA DELGADA .

The NC-4, on which the navy now based all its hopes of a successful flight to the European Continent, left Horta for Ponta Delgada at 12:40 Greenwich mean time, on May 20, and reached there at 1:21. The Portuguese fortress saluted the seaplane with twenty-one guns, and all the ships in the harbor sounded their whistles, while the church bells rang and a large crowd, waiting on the shore, cheered the aviators. Commander Read,

"the new Columbus of the air," planned to stop over night at Ponta Delgada to overhaul and refuel the NC-4 before proceeding to Lisbon, from which port he intended to complete his scheduled trip to Plymouth, England. But on May 21 he was delayed by engine trouble, and on the 22d the sea was too rough to start. Adverse weather conditions prevented Read's departure until May 27.

#### THE FLIGHT TO LISBON

On the morning of May 27, with a warm Spring sun shining brightly on the waters of the bay, the NC-4 started at last from Ponta Delgada on the last leg of its transatlantic flight. The crew boarded the plane an hour before sunrise, but it was not until several hours later that the giant machine taxied outside the breakwater, headed to windward, and rose gracefully into the air. She circled the harbor and then headed for her destination amid cheers from the sailors and soldiers who lined the decks of the ships in the harbor and the crowds on the piers, together with the shrieks of whistles from all the steam craft within sight. The din of the salute was kept up for several moments, the plane meanwhile speeding on her way and slowly disappearing in the bright eastern sky.

The first report from the NC-4 was received as she was passing Station 1 at 11:13 o'clock. At 11:38 she reported that she had passed Station 2. Station 6 was passed at 2:05 P. M., Greenwich time. Station 6 is approximately 300 miles from Ponta Delgada. Station Ship 14, the last destroyer before Lisbon, was passed at 7:16 P. M., Greenwich time.

Night came at Lisbon while thousands on shore and in the harbor still watched anxiously for the speeding seaplane. At four minutes to 9 the cry suddenly rang out from the sharp-eyed lookout for the U. S. S. Shawmut's motorboat, "There she is." Far away in the western sky appeared a tiny speck, clearly visible against the gorgeous panorama of the sunset. In a few moments the drone of the NC-4's four powerful motors became audible as she floated 1,500 feet above the centre of the Tagus. Amid a tremendous tumult of sound she swept

past the warships and slid lightly down in a wide curve to the water—at 9:02 P. M., May 2, by Lisbon time, (4:02 New York time.)

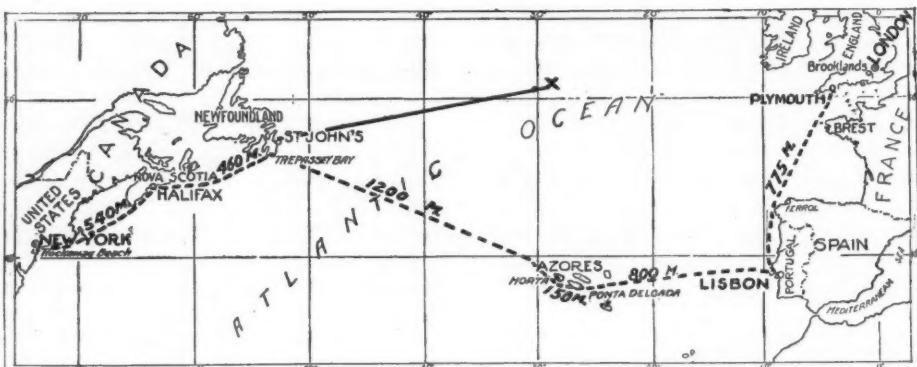
When the launch containing the aviators glided up to the Rochester's gangway there came a scene which in beauty and impressiveness proved a fitting climax to this high adventure. As the crew stepped aboard amid deafening cheers Commander Towers shook them by the hand. Then they stood on the quarterdeck, where the Portuguese Minister of War and Marine, Admiral Plunkett, Minister Birch, Attachés General Brainerd and Dorsey, and leaders of Lisbon society were awaiting to receive them. Suddenly there was a dead silence as the band struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner."

It was a wonderful picture. In the foreground was the little group who had done what no man had ever done before, standing stiffly at salute in the dazzling brightness of a searchlight. Beyond them were rows of naval and military officers in uniform, and a dark mass of civilians splashed with the color of women's dresses. On the left was the witchery of colored lights gleaming amid the bright hued flags, and in the centre and on the right background were sailors' faces—grave and reverent in homage to their country's national hymn—rising tier upon tier until lost in the darkness overhead.

#### RECEIVING CONGRATULATIONS

The first transatlantic flight in history had been accomplished by a machine designed, built, and manned by Americans. The engines had worked perfectly, and there had been no untoward incident. A triumphal reception greeted the NC-4 as she alighted. Every warship fired a dozen rounds, and whistles and sirens were blown, while the pealing of bells and the cheering of thousands ashore voiced the congratulations of the Portuguese capital.

The Foreign Minister congratulated Lieut. Commander Read and his men on their skill and courage, adding, "It is a great honor for Portugal to receive the heroes who first essayed to cross the Atlantic." Thomas H. Birch, the American



DOTTED LINE MARKS ROUTE OF THE N.C-4 IN ITS HISTORIC FLIGHT FROM NEW YORK TO ENGLAND. BLACK LINE ABOVE MARKS HAWKER'S FLIGHT

Minister to Portugal, extended congratulations in behalf of the United States. The Minister of Marine then decorated the aviators with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Tower and Sword.

On hearing the news of the NC-4's arrival at Lisbon, Secretary Daniels sent the following cable to Lieut. Commander Read:

The entire navy congratulates you and your fellow-aviators on your epochal flight. The ocean has been spanned through the air, and to the American Navy goes the honor of making the first transatlantic flight. We are all intensely proud of your achievement, and thankful that it has been accomplished without mishap to any one of the daring aviators who left our shores on the first air journey to Europe. To all of them and to you all honor is due.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

President Wilson sent a cablegram to Secretary Daniels warmly congratulating the navy and the gallant men who had carried through the enterprise.

#### FLIGHT TO PLYMOUTH

All the plans for patrolling the course of the NC-4's further flight from Lisbon to Plymouth, England, having been completed, Lieut. Commander Read rose into the air at Lisbon on May 30 at 5:20 A. M., and headed for Plymouth. Eleven American torpedo-boat destroyers were stationed between Lisbon and Plymouth. In this flight the NC-4 had to descend twice on account of engine trouble; first, at the mouth of the Mondego River, in Portugal, and later at Ferrol, on the northern coast of Spain, at 4:45 P. M. From

this latter port the seaplane again took the air on Saturday morning, May 31, at 6:27 o'clock. Out over the Bay of Biscay, past the Harbor of Brest, where it dropped wireless greetings to the cheering American soldiers, and across the English Channel, it flew the 544 sea miles of its last lap in almost exactly seven hours at an average speed of sixty-five nautical miles an hour—straight to the famous Old World town from which the Pilgrim Fathers had sailed in the Mayflower three centuries before.

The great Harbor of Plymouth was alive with craft, and the shore promenade known as the Hoe, where Sir Francis Drake was playing bowls when the Spanish Armada hove in sight, was now black with people straining to catch the first glimpse of this new and friendly invader. Suddenly out of the haze the great seaplane appeared, circled high over Plymouth Sound, planed smoothly down from 1,500 feet altitude, and completed its epoch-making journey by settling gracefully upon the water a few hundred yards off shore at 2:26 o'clock in the afternoon of May 31, amid hearty English cheers from the throngs ashore and salvos from all the steamcraft in the harbor.

Aboard the Rochester, the flagship of Rear Admiral Plunkett, Commander Read and his crew received the congratulations of a distinguished company of American and British naval officers. Afterward they were welcomed to British soil by the Mayor of Plymouth at the Barbican, the very spot where the Pil-

grim Fathers had sailed away in years long gone, and the Royal Air Force gave them a banquet at the Grand Hotel, which they could hardly reach for the friendly throngs along the way. The next day they were lionized in London and carried on the shoulders of enthusiastic American soldiers; here Hawker, the rival British hero, was among the first to congratulate the Americans. It was announced that Commander Read and his crew had been invited to Paris by President Wilson, who had sent this cablegram:

Please accept my heartfelt congratulations on the success of your flight and accept for yourself and your comrades expressions of my deep admiration. We are all heartily proud of you. You have won and deserved the distinction of adding still further to the laurels of our country.

So ended successfully the first air flight across the Atlantic with England as a final objective point. The NC-4 in its flight from Trepassey to Lisbon had covered 2,150 nautical miles in 26 hours and 47 minutes actual flying time, and the additional lap to England, 775 nautical miles, had been done in 13 hours and

43 minutes. From Rockaway to Plymouth the seaplane had traveled 3,925 nautical miles in 57 hours and 16 minutes actual flying time, as nearly as the Washington authorities could compute it. This represented 3,436 minutes of actual flying time, or an average speed of 68.40 knots an hour. The best average speed and performance over a sustained distance was the complete ocean flight of 2,150 miles from Trepassey to Lisbon, which represented an average speed of 80.8 knots an hour. The record of the NC-4 in detail follows:

Course.	May	Date,	Distance,	Time.....	Speed, Knots.....
Rockway - Chatham (forced landing about 100 miles off Chatham)	....	8	300	5:45	52.0
Chatham-Halifax	....	14	320	3:51	85.0
Halifax-Trepassey	....	15	460	6:20	72.6
Trepassey-Horta	16-17		1,200	15:18	78.4
Horta-Ponta Delgada..	20		150	1:45	86.7
Ponta Delgada-Lisbon.	27		800	9:44	88.1
Lisbon-Mondego River.	30		100	2:07	48.8
Mondego River-Ferrol.	30		220	4:37	45.6
Ferrol-Plymouth	31		455	6:59	64.8
COMPLETE FLIGHT ROCKAWAY TO PLYMOUTH					
Rockaway to Plymouth	8-31		3,925	57:16	68.4
COMPLETE OCEAN FLIGHT					
Trepassey to Lisbon	16-27		2,150	26:47	80.3

## Flight of Navy Dirigible C-5

THE story of the navy dirigible C-5, which flew from Montauk Point, N. Y., to Newfoundland, with the intention of continuing to the Azores in the train of the NC planes, is brief and disastrous. The official announcement from Washington issued on May 12 giving the details of this project read as follows:

The Navy Department is informed that the naval airship C-5 is ready for a start from the naval air station, Montauk Point, N. Y., for St. John's, N. F., whenever weather conditions are favorable.

The C-5, the newest of the navy's twin-engine dirigibles, will make the trip to Newfoundland as an experiment flight to demonstrate what she can do in regard to distance and how she will operate under varying weather conditions. The trip is made at this time and along this route to take advantage of the fact that the department has ships and personnel all along the way from the starting point to

St. John's, where the U. S. S. Chicago has been sent to act as station ship for the dirigible.

Upon the outcome of this experimental flight will depend the future plans in regard to the possibility of attempting later a transatlantic flight by a dirigible.

The C-5 was commanded by L. W. Coll, U. S. N., and the crew comprised Lieutenant J. V. Lawrence, Lieutenant (J. G.) M. H. Easterly, Ensign D. P. Campbell, Chief Machinist's Mate T. L. Morrman and Chief Machinist's Mate S. H. Blackburn.

The C-5 was a twin-engine non-rigid airship of the C class, equipped with two 125-horse power union engines, envelope No. E. 100, manufactured by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio; car No. A 4126, manufactured by the Burgess Company, Marblehead, Mass. Her specifications follow:

Envelope displacement, approximately 178,000 cubic feet.  
Envelope length, 192 feet.  
Envelope diameter, 41 feet 9 inches.  
Normal speed, 50 miles an hour.  
Endurance at normal speed, 10 hours.  
Useful load, 4,000 pounds.  
Crew, six men.  
Maximum attainable height, 8,600 feet  
Car length, 40.  
Fuel consumption approximately 10 gallons an hour at a speed of 42 miles an hour.

The dirigible left Montauk at 8 o'clock in the morning of May 14. She was subsequently sighted at Yarmouth and Shelburne, making good progress. She came into sight five miles from Halifax at 5:30 P. M. A radiogram sent by her commander reported to the mother ship, Baltimore, that she was "going strong."

After encountering stormy weather off St. Pierre and being lost in fog banks for three hours with wireless crippled and position uncertain, the dirigible arrived at St. John's, N. F., in the forenoon of May 15, thus successfully completing the first stage of her projected overseas flight to the Azores. Her commander and crew had the highest hopes of obtaining their ultimate objective.

#### SUDDEN DISASTER

The dirigible had been anchored at her grounds, but strong winds made it exceedingly difficult to manage her, and when the breeze changed to a gale at 4 o'clock it became evident that extra precautions would have to be taken. About 100 men from the cruiser Chicago were holding her down with man ropes in addition to her anchors, fixed in the earth, and Lieutenant Little, who was in charge of the operations, proposed to deflate the craft partly and thus lessen the strain on her moorings as an alternative to having her ascend and remain aloft until the wind moderated, the latter course being almost out of the question on account of the strain it would impose on her crew, who were already obtaining a well-earned rest after their trying experience on the trip from Montauk.

In response to an order from Lieutenant Little, who pulled a cord connecting with the safety panel to deflate the gas bag, the men relaxed their hold on the ropes, but the cord broke in Lieutenant Little's hand and the dirigible, relieved of the strain, broke her anchor moorings and began to go skyward.

Little ordered two mechanics, Boyne and Lynch, who were in the machine with him, to jump, and he followed them just in time to prevent going up with the balloon.

A strong wind quickly sent the dirigible out over the hills and the ocean, to the amazement of thousands of watching citizens, who imagined for a time that the transatlantic flight was being attempted. By sundown she had passed from sight and the destroyer Edwards had begun the chase. The airship was expected to descend when the cold atmosphere, during the night, contracted the gas, in which event the destroyer would pick her up with the aid of searchlights and if possible bring her back to St. John's.

When the airship burst her moorings one of the ropes which parted caught a boy named Kavanagh, aged 14, injuring him so seriously that his recovery was regarded as hopeless. Another boy named O'Donnell of about the same age, also caught by the rope, had his right leg broken. Lieutenant Little sprained an ankle when he hit the ground.

It was later reported that the runaway airship had been recaptured by an unknown British steamer eighty-five miles east of St. John's, and that this steamer was holding it until the destroyer Edwards could bring it back. This report, however, proved to be erroneous, and all hope of capturing the craft was abandoned. So ended the first attempt of a dirigible lighter-than-air machine to fly across the Atlantic. At the time this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press the British dirigible R-34 was preparing to cross the ocean by a flight from east to west.

# Exploit of Hawker and Grieve

## The British Venture

THE undertaking of Harry Hawker and Lieut. Commander MacKenzie Grieve was the result of a prize of £10,000 offered by The London Daily Mail to the crew of the first heavier-than-air machine that would fly across the Atlantic without making a single stop. Various British entries were made for the competition. A Martynside machine was entered by Captain E. P. Raynham and Major C. W. Morgan; this machine made an attempt to get off from Newfoundland at the time of Hawker's departure, but struck the ground, injuring Major Morgan and causing a long postponement for repairs. Another competitor was Major J. C. P. Wood, pilot of the Shortt Brothers airplane, the Shamrock; and a third was Major Trygve Gran, a Dane, the first man to fly across the North Sea, (in August, 1914,) with Major Brackley as pilot, in a Handley-Page plane. A Vickers-Vimy bomber in charge of Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant A. W. Brown arrived at Harbor Grace early in June; this was the machine destined to win The Daily Mail prize.

Major James C. P. Wood, the only contestant who decided to fly from east to west, had come to disaster on April 18, when he fell with his machine and navigator, Captain C. C. Wylie, into the Irish Sea, near Holyhead, while flying from Eastchurch, England, to Limerick, Ireland, in his initial attempt to cross the Atlantic.

The flight of the Sopwith machine which Hawker entered for The Daily Mail prize did not occur until May 18, six weeks after he and Grieve had made their first trial flight at St. John's, N. F. Hawker left England on March 18, "brimful of confidence, and complete to the smallest nut," in his own words, sailing for Halifax on the steamship Digby, with his machine aboard, accompanied by Lieut. Commander MacKenzie Grieve, the navigator of the projected trip, and a staff of mechanics.

Hawker had been for several years one of the best-known aviators of England. Originally a mechanic, he had gone to England from Australia several years ago, and entered the employ of the Sopwith Company.

On Oct. 24, 1912, flying a Sopwith biplane, designed after the pattern of the American Wright biplane, Hawker established the then British record of 8 hours and 23 minutes for a duration flight and won the British Michelin trophy for that year. A year later, flying a Sopwith equipped with a Gnome motor, he established the then British altitude record of 12,900 feet. On the same day he carried aloft two passengers to a height of 10,600 feet.

In 1913 and in 1914 Hawker made two attempts in a Sopwith to win The Daily Mail prize of \$25,000 for a flight around Great Britain. The first time he had to descend near Yarmouth because of illness, and in 1914 he met with an accident when near Dublin. During the war he was experimental flier assisting in the development of the Sopwith machines. Lieut. Commander Grieve, R. N., had been commander of the seaplane carrier Campania.

Hawker's machine at St. John's was one of the most successful of the fighting type used by the British in the war. It was a two-seated machine, the motive power being a single twelve-cylinder Rolls-Royce Eagle engine of 375 horse power. It possessed a petrol capacity for only twenty-four hours. The pilot and navigator sat side by side, a radical departure. Both were equipped with rubber life suits, which would keep them afloat three days. The back portion of the machine was in boat form, attached to the machine by a quick release. The boat contained food and wireless apparatus and could be quickly released while the machine was in motion.

On April 11 the Martynside machine in which Captain Raynham and Major Morgan expected to attempt the trans-

Atlantic flight arrived at St. John's, and with their arrival Hawker and Grieve spurred their preparations and announced that they would leave St. John's the moment any sort of favorable weather news was received. The weather, however, remained bad for weeks, and defeated several attempts to start. Hawker's actual departure on May 18 was influenced by the competition of Captain Raynham, and also, to some extent, by the news of the imminent departure of the American NC planes, though these were not entered for The Daily Mail prize.

Quite apart from any consideration of glory to be won by a successful crossing of the Atlantic by the air route, the financial stakes for which Hawker and Grieve played were heavy. Hawker was to receive from the Sopwith Company a bonus of \$50,000, in addition to his share of the \$50,000 prize offered by The Daily Mail, while Grieve was to get \$20,000 and a share of the prize, if the flight met with success. Both were extremely anxious, therefore, to beat Captain Raynham, and it became evident toward the last that they were prepared to take desperate chances in their attempt to win, as evidenced by their announcement that they would drop the entire undercarriage from their machine (about 400 pounds) soon after departure, in order to eliminate all possible surplus weight, thus depriving themselves of all hope of rising again in case of an enforced descent, and making it impossible to reach land or water except by what is technically known as "crashing."

#### HAWKER'S DEPARTURE

Despite a report of bad weather off the Irish coast on May 18 the British aviators decided to fly at 3:30, and summoned Major Partridge, the official starter, without whose presence the ascent could not be made. He reached the ground at 3 P. M. Meanwhile the biplane had been removed from the hangar to the open field, the engine started and everything made ready for departure. Only a comparatively small gathering saw the ascent from there, not more than 200 altogether, who gathered on the chance of seeing both machines

go, as it became known that the Martynside machine would not start till later in the afternoon.

At 3:15 Hawker and Grieve, having donned heavy woolen clothing and over that inflatable rubber suits, took their places in the machine, and set it in motion. There was doubt among the air-flight officers as to whether the machine could rise from the ground with the burden carried, about 6,300 pounds. The plane was moved by means of helpers, however, to a favorable position, its head was pointed eastward, and, having the advantage of a downward dip in the ground toward the end of her run, it took off beautifully. The assembled spectators raised a hearty cheer and the airmen waved a farewell. The machine circled skyward until it reached about 2,000 feet, then flew east over the city, which lies five miles from the aerodrome, and headed over the white hills to the open sea.

#### DROPPING THE CARRIAGE

The Sopwith left the ground in a graceful curve, gradually ascended until it was about 2,000 feet above the aerodrome, while the cheers of the crowd became inaudible from the droning of the motor, and then headed eastward over the city, where practically every inhabitant rushed to the streets.

The day was an ideal one for such a sight, the sky being cloudless and the breeze only moderate, and the airplane made an exceedingly attractive picture as it crossed St. John's from west to east. In running over the city the Sopwith passed across Quidi Vidi Lake, alongside which the Martynside had its aerodrome, and here thousands of citizens were assembled. They had been attracted to the Martynside ground because it is near the city, and numbers journeyed there on foot to await the start of the Martynside machine. They watched with interest the picture presented by the rival airplane.

Crossing the white hills, which are a line of cliffs forming the seacoast in this vicinity, Hawker pulled the trap which released his wheels, and these dropped to the ground, where two of his mechanics were waiting to locate them.

## GIVEN UP FOR LOST

From the hills the plane was seen to speed seaward. When it vanished from view it was traveling at about 100 miles an hour, straight for the Irish coast, with a strong following breeze. Two daring men were far out over the Atlantic with gasoline enough to last only twenty-four hours, and with no landing apparatus. As the hours passed not a word or sign of any kind came from the wireless apparatus of the vanished aviators. London spent the day and night of May 19 in excitement and suspense. Then, as the hours grew into days, the whole world began to speak with regret and with growing certainty of the death of the aviators.

The weather off the Irish coast was boisterous on the day when they should have reached there, and many wild rumors were circulated as to their fate. The British Admiralty sent out ships to make search for the missing men, but after six days they were given up for dead, as it was known that they could not survive so long in the water.

Suddenly on May 25, out of the silence and mystery, came a message from the northernmost point of the Hebrides Islands—Butt of Lewis—announcing that the little Danish steamer Mary had signaled by means of flags that she had saved two men from a Sopwith airplane. She had picked up Hawker and Grieve in mid-ocean on May 19, and, possessing no wireless, she had gone calmly on her way until within signaling distance of land.

The Admiralty immediately sent out a fast torpedo boat destroyer in an endeavor to intercept the Mary and take

off the aviators. There was an anxious wait of several hours, when the word was flashed that the destroyer had come across the steamer and transferred Hawker and Grieve and was taking them to Thurso, on the northern coast of Scotland, about 100 miles east of Butt of Lewis. The destroyer Revenge reported later that Hawker and Grieve would sleep on board her that night and would reach London on the 27th.

From the Revenge Hawker sent the following message to *The Daily Mail*:

My machine stopped owing to the water filter in the feed pipe from the radiator to the water pump being blocked with refuse, such as solder and the like, shaking loose in the radiator. It was no fault of the Rolls-Royce motor, which ran absolutely perfect from start to finish, even when all the water had boiled away.

We had no trouble in landing on the sea, where we were picked up by the tramp ship Mary, after being in the water for ninety minutes. We leave Thurso at 2 P. M. Monday, arriving in London Tuesday evening.

It was officially announced by the Admiralty that the aviators were picked up in latitude 50.20, longitude 29.30, having alighted close to the little Danish steamer. The airplane, badly battered, was brought in a few days later by a vessel that had picked it up.

The news of the rescue of Hawker and Grieve caused world wide rejoicing, and among the innumerable messages of praise and congratulation which they received was one from the King of England. In London they were the heroes of the hour. *The Daily Mail* announced that it would give the aviators a consolation prize of \$25,000.



# First Continuous Transatlantic Flight

## Alcock and Brown Reach Ireland in 16 Hours and 12 Minutes After Departure From Newfoundland

THE great achievement of flying across the Atlantic Ocean without a single stop was accomplished for the first time June 14-15, 1919, by Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, one an Englishman, the other an American, when they covered the 1,980 miles between Newfoundland and Ireland in 16 hours and 12 minutes at a speed of 120 miles an hour. The night of June 14-15 thus became a permanent landmark in the history of the conquest of the air.

After the disastrous ending to the desperate attempt of Harry Hawker and his companion, Grieve, to cross the ocean in a single-engined heavier-than-air machine, the contest for the \$50,000 prize offered by Lord Northcliffe's paper, *The Daily Mail*, centred about three ventures. First in public knowledge was Captain Raynham and his Martynside machine, which came to grief in an attempt to take the air one hour after Harry Hawker. Raynham had sent for a new engine for his badly damaged machine, and was seeking a new pilot to replace his former associate, who had been seriously injured. A big Handley-Page plane was being assembled at St. John's and tried out by Admiral Mark Kerr in keen rivalry with a third new contestant, a Vickers-Vimy machine piloted and navigated by Captain John Alcock, a British air officer, and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, an American aviator.

### UNEXPECTED DEPARTURE

The Vickers-Vimy plane got away first. It took the air on June 14 at 4:28 P. M., Greenwich mean time. On June 15, 1919, at 8:40 A. M., Greenwich mean time, the ultimate goal of all the ambitions which flying men have cherished since the Wright brothers first rose from the earth in a heavier-than-air machine was realized when Captain Alcock and Lieutenant Brown landed near the centre of the Irish coast after a nonstop flight

of 1,980 miles from Newfoundland across the Atlantic Ocean.

One feature of the record-breaking flight was its unexpectedness. Plans for receiving Alcock and Brown were hurriedly formulated by the British Aero Club and the Air Ministry. It had not been believed that the aviators would be able to leave Newfoundland for another week. But, spurred on by a trial trip of the big Handley-Page machine, Alcock and Brown had determined to be the first to depart. With a very small running space they managed only by the most dexterous handling to get their machine to rise. After the big biplane got under way, its wireless aerials were soon carried away by the gale, and therefore the aviators could send back no message to indicate their progress. The following day they landed at Clifden, Ireland, in a bog near the wireless station. The aviators were dazed by the force of the impact on striking the ground.

When the officers, operators, and soldiers from the wireless plant rushed toward the machine after it landed, Alcock said: "This is the Vickers-Vimy machine. We have just come from Newfoundland." The little crowd gasped, and then sent up a rousing cheer. The brief message sent by the successful aviators from Clifden to the Aero Club read as follows:

Landed at Clifden at 8:40 A. M., Greenwich mean time, June 15, Vickers-Vimy Atlantic machine leaving Newfoundland coast at 4:28 P. M., Greenwich mean time, June 14. Total time, 16 hours 12 minutes.

A modest description that came from the airmen at Clifden told of an adventurous and amazingly hazardous enterprise. Fogs and mist hung over the North Atlantic, and the Vickers-Vimy biplane climbed and dived, struggling to extricate herself from the folds of these worst enemies of aerial flight. Rising to a height of 11,000 feet and swooping down

almost to the surface of the ocean, the two aviators at times found themselves flying upside down only ten feet above the water. Mists robbed the night of the advantage of the full moon, the wireless apparatus was torn away by the wind, and the two young aviators were thrown upon their own resources almost from the start. The skillful navigation which brought the machine near to the centre of the Irish coastline was one of the finest features of the flight.

#### CAPTAIN ALCOCK'S ACCOUNT

The account given by Captain Alcock to the reporter of *The Daily Mail* was as follows:

At Signal Hill, Newfoundland, Lieutenant Brown set our course for the ocean on 124 degrees of the compass. We kept that course until well on in the night. I had the engine throttled down nicely and I let her do her own climbing.

At dark we were about 4,000 feet up. We found it very cloudy and misty. We were between layers of cloud and could see neither the sea nor the sky. After the first hour we had got into these clouds, one lot 2,000 feet up and the other 6,000 feet. It was impossible to see the sea to get our bearings.

Drift clouds above obscured the sun, and when the night came we could see neither stars nor moon, so we flew on our original course until we struck a patch about 3 A. M. where we could see a few stars.

Brown gave me a new course of 110 degrees compass points, and we went on steadily until the weather started to get very thick again. About 4 A. M. or 5 A. M. we could see nothing. The bank of fog was extremely thick, and we began to have a very rough time.

The air speed indicator jammed. It stood at 90, and I knew not exactly what I was doing. It jammed through the sleet freezing in it, and it smelt smoky.

We did some comic stunts then. I believe we looped the loop and by accident we did a deep spiral. It was very alarming. We had no sense of the horizon. We came down quickly from 4,000 feet until we saw water very clearly. That gave me my horizon again and I was all right. That period only lasted a few seconds, but it seemed ages.

It came to an end when we were within fifty feet of the water, with the machine practically on its back.

The air speed indicator again began to work as a result of the swift dive.

We climbed after that and got on fairly well until we got to 6,000 feet, and the fog was there again. I climbed twice on top of it, only to find banks of clouds. We

went higher and saw the moon and one or two stars. We "carried on" until dawn.

We never saw the sun rise. There was a bank of fog also on top of the lower cloud. We climbed up to 11,000 feet. It was hailing and snowing. The machine was covered with ice. That was about 6 o'clock in the morning, and it remained like that until the hour before we landed.

My radiator shutter and water temperature indicator were covered with ice for four or five hours. Lieutenant Brown had continually climbed up to chip off the ice with a knife.

The speed indicator was full of frozen particles and gave trouble again. They came out when we got lower an hour before we landed. We came down and flew over the sea at 300 feet. It was still cloudy, but we could see the sun as it tried to break through.

It was a terrible trip. We never saw a boat, and we got no wireless messages at all. We flew along the water and we had doubts as to our position, although we believed we were "there or thereabouts." We looked out for land, expecting to find it any time.

We saw land about 9:15 A. M. when we suddenly discovered the coast. It was great to do that. We saw two little islands, which must have been East-Sal and Turbot Islands. We came along and got to Ardbear Bay, an inlet of Clifden Bay, and when we saw the wireless mast we knew where we were exactly.

When still over Clifden village I saw after a few minutes what I took to be a nice field—a lovely meadow. We came down and made a perfect landing, but it was a bog. The wheels sank axle deep in the field. The Vimy toppled over on her nose.

The lower plane is badly damaged and broken and both propellers are deeply sunk in the bog, but I think they are not broken. The engines are all right.

#### NORTHCLIFFE'S CONGRATULATIONS

Lord Northcliffe, on hearing of Alcock's arrival, sent him the following letter:

My Dear Alcock: A very hearty welcome to the pioneer of direct Atlantic flight. Your journey with your brave companion, Whitton Brown, is a typical exhibition of British courage and organizing efficiency.

Just as in 1913 when I offered the prize, I felt that it would soon be won, so do I surely believe your wonderful journey is the warning to the cable monopolists and others to realize that within the next few years we shall be less dependent upon them unless they increase their wires and speed up. Your voyage was made more quickly than the average press message of 1919.

Moreover, I look forward with certainty to the time when London morning newspapers will be selling in New York in the evening, allowing for the difference between British and American time, and vice versa in regard to New York evening journals reaching London the next day.

Then we shall no longer suffer from the danger of garbled quotations due to telegraphic compression. Then, too, the American and British peoples will understand each other better as they are brought into closer daily touch.

Illness prevents me shaking you by the hand and personally presenting the prize, but I can assure you that your welcome will be equal to that of Hawker and his gallant American composer, Read, whose great accomplishment has given us such valuable data for future Atlantic work.

I rejoice at the good augury that you departed from and arrived at those two portions of the British Commonwealth, the happy and prosperous Dominion of Newfoundland and the future equally happy and prosperous Dominion of Ireland. Yours sincerely,

NORTHCLIFFE.

King George learned of the success of the flight as he was leaving Westminster. He immediately telegraphed his congratulations to the airmen. Many high officials also sent their messages and greetings. London received the news with quiet pride in a great British achievement. Alcock and Brown were as-

sured a reception in the British capital equaling that given Hawker and Grieve. Alcock's defeated rival, Harry Hawker, was generous in his praise. Wholehearted congratulations for Alcock and Brown characterized the comment made by naval officers in Washington on the completion of the first nonstop transatlantic flight.

The successful Vimy machine was built largely of steel. It had multiple steel tanks for fuel storage, and was equipped with double engines. Alcock, whose name was almost unknown to England before his flight, was described by his friends as a man of reticent personality. He had been an instructor and passenger carrier at Brooklands, the flying centre outside London, since 1911. His chief adventure in aviation had been in bombing expeditions against the Turks during the war; a forced descent due to engine failure had led to his imprisonment for two years. Brown had been an aviator since the age of 17, and at one time had conducted a military school of aerial navigation. The absolute correctness of his calculations during the trip, which guided the Vimy machine with scientific precision to its exact goal, the Clifden Wireless Station, was one of the most striking features of the flight.

## British Success With Dirigibles

*Because the German Zeppelins failed in their raids on England it was believed for a time that airships had not made good. But after the veil was lifted from the work of the British Navy it transpired that various types of dirigible balloons performed very essential services for the fleet. A correspondent of The London Times summarized the facts as follows:*

FROM Mullion, in Cornwall, right around the coast of England and Scotland to Pembroke, a chain of airship stations came into being during the war. Where the distance between stations was considerable, as, for instance, between Mullion and Polegate, (Sussex,) mooring-out stations, camps without permanent sheds or other buildings, were established and manned with just sufficient numbers to handle two or three small dirigibles which were moored out in the open when not flying.

From this chain of stations an immense amount of anti-submarine patrolling and convoy escorting was done. During the first ten months of 1918 the total hours flown by airships amounted to 53,554. In both submarine searching and assisting to protect convoys from under-sea attacks lighter-than-air craft were emphatically of help to the navy.

A large number of hostile submarines were either put out of action or actually destroyed by bombing; others were located by airships and attacked by sur-

face craft, in consequence of information as to their whereabouts thus obtained; and the convoy work was splendidly successful. On the Howden (Yorkshire) airship patrol, extending from the Humber to the Tyne, no German submarine ever attacked a convoy while an airship was near, and the same can be said for other areas.

The special advantages which an airship possesses for duties of this kind have been clearly shown. They can go very slowly and still retain height. For convoy escorting, where the speed of the surface ships is generally low, this is very important; the airship can keep with the convoy, conserve petrol, and maintain a much more comprehensive lookout for enemy vessels and mines than flying boat, seaplane, or land machine pressed into over-water service. Again, an airship, even one of the smallest type, is capable of much greater endurance than any heavier-than-air machine. It can remain away from its base far longer than a seaplane or an airplane; it can drift with its engines completely cut off, and keep head to wind in calm weather with engines just ticking over; it is self-contained, for when necessary its crew can prepare meals and take turns at sleeping aboard. During the war a British airship made a cruise lasting 50 hours and 55 minutes, while since the signing of the armistice this record has been beaten by a trip of over sixty-one hours.

From seven British airships in commission at the outbreak of war, the number increased to just over a hundred by Oct. 31, 1918. There are two types of airships—rigids and non-rigids—and the latter class comprises submarine scouts, S. S. T.'s, (an improved submarine scout with two engines instead of one,) Coasts, Coastal Stars, Parsevals, and North Seas. These non-rigids did the main share of the anti-submarine and convoy work, the rigids being better suited for reconnaissance duties with the fleet. It is no longer a secret that the Germans owed their escape at Jutland to Zeppelins, that Zeppelins enabled the flotilla which bombarded Scarborough to get away, and that Zeppelins had a hand in the torpedoing of H. M. S. Falmouth and Nottingham. The popular belief that these Ger-

man rigids have been a complete failure is not altogether accurate; they were not intended for overland raiding; but in their real work, as eyes for the German fleet, they did a vast amount of North Sea scouting that was never made public, and were a distinct handicap to the British Navy on occasions. Only three Zeppelins were lost in these legitimate enterprises throughout the war.

The obvious use of airships in peace is for merchandise carrying, long-distance cruising, journeys of several thousand miles—and round the world is easily within their compass even now—which are beyond the powers of heavier-than-air craft in a single stage. Not only are they better suited for this sort of work by their very nature, but they possess other advantages over airplanes in personal comfort. Ordinarily an airship need not fly at much more than a thousand feet. This makes for less cold traveling and also enables those in the ship—especially at cruising speed—to enjoy the scenery. In an airplane things rush by so fast underneath that the world looks like a dull contour map. In an airship, however, one can come down even to 200 feet or so, to drift with engines almost or completely stopped, and to look at things.

Then, too, an airship always flies on an even keel; it does not "bank" in turning as an airplane does, nor does it climb or descend steeply. All this makes for comfort and a feeling of greater security. Sleeping in an airship is a calm experience; moving about, comparatively simple. Also there is less noise in an airship than in an airplane. The latter's engines beat incessantly, and the wind shrills and whistles everlasting among the wires. An airship has no wires to madden with their noise, and the engines can be throttled down to a few revolutions, or absolutely stopped with a favorable wind blowing. Traveling in an airship need be no more noisy than in a motor car. Engine failure, too, is not such a life-or-death matter in an airship. The gas bag will always keep you up until the failure is repaired. The airship is only relatively slow; it is normally twice as fast as an ocean liner. One hundred miles an hour is easily within reach.

# Transporting the American Army

## Official Story of the Greatest Overseas Movement of Troops in the World's History

By BRIG. GEN. FRANK T. HINES

[CHIEF OF U. S. ARMY TRANSPORTATION SERVICE]

*The veil of secrecy that had to be thrown over the movement of American troops across the submarine-infested Atlantic during the war can at last be lifted, and the story of that wonderful achievement is here told by the officer who has charge of the equally great task of getting the men home from France, (June, 1919.)*

**T**HIS war has in the last analysis depended for its successful conclusion upon the unprecedented movement of troops and supplies. It was transportation grand tactics worked out with platoon movements of men in million groups each. Great Britain threw in its millions from every quarter of the globe before we as Americans saw our need to take part in the great battle for the preservation of the world's civilization. The British Empire drained its resources from Canada, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and transported half around the globe men and material, thus setting an example of what the United States could do with a compact country at its back.

The entry of the United States into the war on April 6, 1917, found the nation about as thoroughly unprepared for the great task that was confronting it as any of the great nations then engaged in the war.

Among the many things the United States was wholly unprepared to do was that of moving a large force overseas. Our navy stood third among the great naval forces, but our transport fleet stood last, and our merchant marine was far from equal to the demands shortly to be put upon it.

In the Spring of 1918, when France and Great Britain stood with their backs against the Channel and were holding on with that tenacity which has been the admiration of the world, the United States was proceeding with the modest military program of transporting abroad

100,000 men per month. A situation then developed which made it necessary for the United States to speed up its program and render whatever assistance it could, and render that assistance quickly. On March 1, 1918, General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, having just returned from France, held the firm conviction that the then fundamental necessity, from the standpoint of our own success as well as that of the Allies, was the speeding up of our shipments of troops and supplies, and that these shipments should have priority over everything else. This decision, backed up by careful studies of how to accomplish it, resulted in a policy being adopted and pushed through to completion which finally resulted in the United States raising an army of 3,670,000 men by Nov. 11, 1918, and landing in France ready for service the formidable force of 2,075,000 men and 5,153,000 tons of supplies. No other single policy adopted during the war netted greater results toward the successful outcome.

### THE EMBARKATION SERVICE

At the entrance of the United States into the war the Quartermaster Corps was maintaining a small transport service to Panama, in addition to the transport service from the Pacific Coast to the Philippine Islands. In all there were six transports in this service, and, in addition, a number of small interisland transports. The transportation of troops and supplies for the Expeditionary Forces in France was at the start given

over to the Quartermaster Corps. Two primary ports of embarkation were established, one with headquarters at Hoboken, N. J., and the other at Newport News, Va., each place under the command of a general officer. A number of American steamships were chartered for the first convoy as transports, and the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American piers at Hoboken were taken over.

As the magnitude of the task became more apparent, to enable the Chief of Staff to exercise more efficiently his supervisory and co-ordinating powers, it was decided to place the responsibility for overseas shipments under a special section of the General Staff, which was created on Aug. 4, 1917, and known as the Embarkation Section of the General Staff. This section took over all matters relating to the shipment of troops and supplies from the point of origin to overseas.

At that time large shipments of supplies were being made by the Allies. The Ports of New York, Newport News, Boston, and Baltimore were used principally for the movement of allied supplies. It soon became apparent that if effective control was to be exercised over movements of troops and supplies for our American Expeditionary Forces in France it would be necessary to establish some agency which not only could effectively control and co-ordinate movements of supplies for the War Department but also co-ordinate such movements with commercial shipments and movements of supplies by the Allies.

#### CREATING THE TRANSPORT FLEET

So, on Dec. 28, 1917, with this object in view, and also for the purpose of effecting more central control over the supply system, there was created a Division of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic under Major Gen. George W. Goethals. This division of the General Staff took over, as part of the new organization, the Embarkation Service, which had been developed by that time. The task laid upon the army of creating the great transport fleet, at the time when the world was experiencing its most acute tonnage shortage, was a

heavy one. At the outbreak of the war our transport service consisted of very few vessels; as a matter of fact, there were seven actually under the control of the War Department. The majority of these were then operated in the Pacific. A start was made by chartering a few of the American merchant steamships immediately at hand, and at the end of June, 1917, there were in the service seven troships, with a deadweight of



BRIG. GEN. FRANK T. HINES

46,000 tons, and six cargo ships, with a deadweight of 48,000 tons. From this small beginning there was developed a transatlantic fleet which on Nov. 1, 1918, aggregated 512 vessels, with a total deadweight of 3,251,000 tons. In addition to this a cross-Channel service fleet was built up numbering approximately 104 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 311,000.

When building up this fleet the first great increment established in the matter of troop transports was the seizure and taking over of the German interned vessels. These ships came into service during the Fall of 1917, and account for approximately 460,000 tons. In the Spring of 1918 the taking over of the

Dutch vessels gave to the army an additional 300,000 tons.

In February, 1918, the movement of troops and supplies continued to increase in volume, and the diversity and complexity of the problems of securing additional tonnage necessitated close co-operation with commercial interests and the Shipping Board. This brought about the organization of the Shipping Control Committee, with P. A. S. Franklin of the International Mercantile Marine at its head. This committee, in so far as the War Department's activities were concerned, was charged with the allocation of tonnage, the assignment of cargo vessels to ports, the loading of vessels, and repairing of vessels not manned by the navy.

#### SPEEDING UP THE SERVICE

The movement of troops overseas began at the earnest solicitation of our co-belligerents very soon after the entrance of the United States into the war. During the first month of the war, the month of May, there was dispatched abroad 1,718 personnel pertaining to the army; in June 12,000, and by the end of the year 187,800 troops and approximately 7,000 marines had been embarked.

At this point of our operations overseas it was quite evident that the matter of expediting the troop movement to France was imperative. The man power of Great Britain and France had already been put into the line. Negotiations with the British Government disclosed that it would be possible for that Government to increase the number of troop vessels then operating in transatlantic service. Every ship that could be secured, taken from all parts of the globe, was pressed into service until 180 British vessels were finally engaged in the transportation of the great American Army overseas.

In April 117,000 troops and 1,400 marines were embarked. Movements increased steadily until the month of July, when the record exceeded all expectations, and 306,000 troops embarked for overseas. By the end of October the second millionth man had sailed from the Atlantic seaboard. During the three months, June, July, and August, 1918, 875,700 men were embarked. If May is

added to the other months, the total for the four months exceeds 1,121,000. When the armistice was signed the total embarkations amounted to approximately 2,100,000 troops and marines.

#### UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY

So far as known no like problem of the transportation of troops has ever before been contemplated, and no movement of any such number of persons by water an equal distance and at a time when enemy submarines were actively engaged in the lines of communication has ever occurred. The performance stands unique in the world's history. Furthermore, this performance wrought, it is believed, a decisive effect upon the world's history at one of its great critical junctures.

It is rather hard to comprehend just what is meant when we speak of a force of 2,100,000 men, or the strength of the American Expeditionary Forces abroad on the date the armistice was signed. Some idea of the magnitude of this body of men may be gained when it is stated that, if this force were extended in a skirmish line, the line would be approximately 1,800 miles long, and would reach from London to Berlin, back from Berlin to Paris, and then from Paris to Coblenz and back again, and enough men would be left over to form a line from New York to Washington. Probably a better illustration can be made by considering that the population of Chicago is two and a half millions, and that of Philadelphia not quite two millions. Consider, then, transporting either of the two cities named bodily from the United States to France.

Credit for this movement of troops must be shared with the Allies, and the British in particular, as approximately one-half of the troops sent to France were carried in British vessels, or British-controlled vessels. At the same time it must be recognized that under the pressure of the critical situation on the western front, ways were found to increase the normal loading of our own transports by as much as 40 per cent., and that our transports exceeded those of the Allies both to the extent to which they were loaded and the speed of their turnaround. High commendation must

be given the navy, army, and Shipping Control Committee for the splendid team work which has existed in the manning, arming, and operating of troopships. All credit must be given the navy for the efficiency of its convoy system and protection given our troopships on the high seas. Without the protection of the British Grand Fleet and the efficiency of the navy convoy system through the submarine zone it would have been impossible to carry out the great movement of troops overseas, no matter how efficient the troop transport system was.

#### WHAT THE RAILROADS DID

There is one part of this overseas movement of troops and supplies that is generally overlooked, and that is the extent to which the railroads of the United States have contributed to the successful outcome of the movement. From May 1, 1917, to April 30, 1919, more than 12,100,000 men had been transported by the railroads. To what extent the handling of these men to camps and ports of embarkation has interfered with commercial traffic is known to the public generally, but it is safe to say that, except where special trains have been operated and something unusual has happened to attract public attention, this tremendous movement has taken place without even coming to the attention of the public generally. The amount of co-ordination necessary to carry out satisfactorily this operation will stand out as one of the great transportation movements in our history. Some idea may be gained of its magnitude by considering that, for the number of miles this force has been transported, the average passengers for one mile would be 5,503,000,000.

Ancient or modern history fails to show any approach to the movements of troops which have taken place during this war. The campaigns of Xerxes and Alexander were conducted with vast numbers of men, if the records are reliable; yet their movements by sea were limited to negotiating the Hellespont, about as difficult as the North River, or the Aegean, as a magnified Long Island Sound. The Roman legions shone only on land detours, and their longest

voyages made to Egypt appeared to sap their strength. The great Hannibal essayed to conquer Europe, not by taking his troops by the short sea voyage from Carthage to Rome, but instead by leading his vast army overland along the coasts of Africa and Spain and France, to attack the Roman dominions from the Alps. Napoleon, with all his genius, was fearful to move troops by sea, and the English saw to it that he never had the opportunity save when he shipped some of his guards to Egypt for the purpose of diverting from troubles at home rather than for potential conquests abroad.

In more recent times—our own time as it were—the Japanese first demonstrated that the large movement of troops by sea was entirely practicable, and the records of the battles of Mukden and Port Arthur will show how this subject of military sea transport was thoroughly understood and practiced. Their numbers, however, were but a bagatelle in comparison with the millions moved over the oceanic highways in this European war.

#### BRINGING THE ARMY BACK

Having solved the problem of putting the troops on the soil of France the War Department is now engaged in the task of returning the army to the United States. At the time the armistice was signed the total troop capacity of American transports under the control of the United States was approximately 110,000 men a month. It was quite evident that the War Department could not expect the same assistance in the return of the American forces from the allied Governments we had received in sending this force abroad, so it was necessary to devise other means of promptly returning the American Army.

Immediately after the armistice the Chief of Staff gave instructions that steps be taken at once to increase the American transport fleet. One means suggested was that of converting the most suitable of the cargo fleet into troop carriers, and this work was straightway undertaken. How successful the efforts of the department have been to increase

the American troop fleet can best be shown by stating that the troop vessels now operating in the service of returning the American forces from overseas have a total troop capacity of more than 360,000, which capacity will permit of the prompt return of the American forces at the rate of 300,000 a month.

This large increase in the carrying capacity of the American fleet ships has been brought about in several ways; first, the conversion of some fifty-eight cargo transports as troopers; second, the assignment by the navy of battleships and cruisers to the transport service, and, third, the obtaining of ten German passenger ships and equipping them promptly for carrying American troops. In addition to the foregoing the War

Department was successful in negotiating agreements with the Italians, French, Spanish, and Dutch for the utilization of suitable passenger vessels of their fleets for the return of the American forces.

There has been no problem before the War Department that has received more prompt attention than the return of American forces; every effort has been made to expedite the fitting out, repairing, and turnaround of troop transports. A number of the faster vessels of the transport fleet have been able to land their cargo of American troops twice during a month in the Atlantic ports. The transport Leviathan, with its capacity of 12,000, is able to move within a given time more troops than were moved by the Spanish Armada.

## Organized Labor in Spain

While the great proletarian masses of Europe were engaged in waging war, the working classes of neutral Spain had ample time and opportunity to perfect a system of social organization which established Spanish labor upon a strong basis. The highly organized body which has arisen in the peninsula was grouped by a Madrid correspondent of The London Times on April 23 as follows:

1. The Confederacion General del Trabajo, (General Confederation of Labor.)
2. The Union General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workmen), and
3. The independent, mostly Catholic, syndicates or guilds.

The doctrines professed by the first group, said this correspondent, are fundamentally anarchical, and their confessed object is the abolition of capital. Their mode of campaign is the declaring of continual strikes. This group is reported to be in touch with representatives of Bolshevism in Barcelona. The second group is the representative body of socialism in Spain. Its press organ is *El Socialista*; and its strongholds the mining districts of Biscaye and Asturias, with many recruits from the railway and

building trades. Parliamentary pressure is applied, but more peaceful means are also adopted. The successes of the Barcelona organization have won it new adherents, in consequence whereof the General Union of Workmen is said "to be broadening its outlook." The Catholic syndicates, at present in course of reorganization, hold as an axiom that the Spanish social crisis can be solved only with the help of Roman Catholicism. The Primate, Cardinal of Toledo, is the visible head of Catholic syndicalism in Spain, and his delegates are the parish priests.

Of the three groups mentioned, the first—the Barcelona organization—is by far the most effective. The supreme advantage of unity of command learned from the European war has been taken to heart by the devisors of the system. Sindicatos únicos, or group syndicates, unify the multiple industries of Catalonia under thirteen heads. By means of general strikes, conceived as successive waves of attack, the General Confederation of Labor has developed into a formidable force arrayed openly against the continuance of the capitalist system in Spain.

# Our Hard-Fighting Engineers

By EDWIN CARTY RANCK

[WRITTEN JUST BEFORE THE CLOSE OF HOSTILITIES]

**I**N testifying before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on Jan. 18, 1918, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker paid a high tribute to the efficiency of the American engineer regiments in France.

"In a very short time," he said, "we had organized engineering regiments of railroad men and were rebuilding railroads which were being carried forward with their advance; reconstructing their broken engines and cars, building new railroads both back of the French and British lines, and those regiments were of such quality that at the Cambrai assault, carried on by General Byng, when the Germans made their counterattack, our engineer regiments threw down their picks and spades and carried their rifles into the battle and distinguished themselves by gallant action in the war itself."

The formation of the first nine railway regiments of American engineers for service in France was accomplished in six weeks. The idea of recruiting the regiments dates back to June, 1916, when Samuel M. Felton, President of the Chicago Great Western, was appointed Consulting Engineer and Adviser to the Chief Engineer of the United States Army upon the recommendation of a joint committee of five national engineering societies and of a commission appointed by the American Railway Association to confer with the Secretary of War on railway matters. For the purpose of learning the needs of the French railways at first hand, a special board was sent abroad, consisting of William Barclay Parsons, Consulting Engineer; W. A. Garrett, former Vice President of the Chicago Great Western; William J. Wilgus, former Chief Engineer of the New York Central, and François de St. Phalle, formerly Man-

ager of Munitions of the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

## THE OFFICERS' CORPS

These nine pioneer regiments of American railway engineers have been in France since August, 1917. The Colonel of each regiment and his Captain Adjutant are regular army engineer officers, but the Captain Quartermaster is an appointee of the Colonel. The railways have provided the Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, two Captain Adjutants, and one Captain engineer, all drawn from ranks calculated to fit them for the positions. In the operating regiments the Captain of each company is a division superintendent or a railway officer of similar experience, and the Lieutenants have been drawn from engineers maintenance of way, assistant division superintendents, trainmasters, master mechanics and railroad men of similar rank. The non-commissioned officers have been drawn from men of the rank of track and bridge supervisors, roundhouse foremen, assistant engineers, section foremen and bridge foremen. The ranks have been filled with conductors, brakemen, yard foremen, dispatchers, track foremen, bridge and building foremen, car inspectors, wrecking foremen, storekeepers, traveling engineers, roundhouse foremen, locomotive engineers and firemen, switchmen, operators, yardmasters, pumpmen, linemen, stenographers, clerks, and agents.

The officers of the construction regiments are made up largely of chief engineers, engineers maintenance of way, roadmasters, track foremen and bridge foremen. The ranks are composed of track laborers and bridge carpenters. Members of the 9th Regiment were picked from railroad shops in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. Colonel Herbert D.

Deakyne was in command of this regiment when it sailed for France. The 9th Engineers claimed the distinction of having a band of thirty-one pieces furnished by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

#### 150,000 AMERICAN ENGINEERS

On June 14, 1918, the War Department announced the organization of five new regiments of railway engineers and the completion of nineteen battalions by Samuel M. Felton, Director General of Military Railroads. This work was done in conjunction with the Corps of Engineers. This meant that when these new forces were put on duty 50,000 Americans would be engaged in railway construction in France.

In a statement published on July 1, 1918, by the War Department, showing the rank, duties, and addresses of the officers of the Corps of Engineers, sixty-two regiments of engineers are mentioned. This, together with the nine pioneer regiments first in France, makes a grand total of seventy-one regiments of American engineers that are definitely known to be in service. It is estimated that there are now [Nov. 1, 1918.] 150,000 engineers engaged in war work in France. The regiments of American engineers that were known to be in France up to Sept. 1, 1918, and their commanding officers are:

First Regiment of Engineers, Colonel Francis B. Wilby; 2d Regiment, Colonel William A. Mitchell; 101st, Colonel George W. Bunnell; 107th, Lieut. Col. Luke H. Callam; 116th, Colonel M. L. Walker; 117th, Colonel William Kelly; 4th, Colonel Albert H. Archer; 103d, Colonel Frederick A. Snyder; 105th, Lieut. Col. Joseph H. Pratt; 110th, Colonel Sherwood A. Cheney; 302d, Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill; 307th, Colonel Julian H. Schley; 6th, Lieut. Col. John M. Stewart; 7th, Colonel Lewis M. Adams; 102d, Lieut. Col. W. S. Conrow; 108th, Colonel Henry A. Allen; 303d, Colonel E. M. Markham; 305th, Colonel George R. Spalding; 104th, Colonel Ralph T. Ward; 112th, Colonel John R. McQuigges; 308th, Colonel Warren T. Hannum; 314th, Colonel Robert P. Johnston; 315th, Colonel Frank C. Boggs;

317th, Colonel Earl I. Brown; 318th, Colonel Stuart C. Godfrey; 111th, Colonel William A. Johnson; 301st, Colonel Francis A. Pope; 304th, Colonel James P. Jersey; 310th, Colonel W. Goff Caples; 316th, Colonel Henry C. Jewett; 306th, Colonel Robert R. Ralston.

#### FIGHTING EPISODES

Our engineers in khaki have won the enthusiastic admiration of Britons and Frenchmen, and the envious admiration of doughboys who would like to have done what they have done, seen what they have seen. Building a railroad with one hand and spanking the German with the other is a regular occupation with these brawny and brainy specimens of American manhood. Indeed, they were among the very first in the early expeditionary force sent to France to demonstrate in spectacular fashion just what sort of stuff our men were made of.

The exploit that first thrilled the folk back home occurred at Cambrai on the morning of Nov. 3, 1917, when the American engineers were building a railroad yard not far from the British front. It suddenly occurred to the Germans to try the mettle of these audacious workers. There was a concentrated and concerted roar from the big German guns as they began hurling shells upon the yard under construction. But were the Americans downhearted? Not a bit of it. Lieutenant Paul McLoud of the 11th Engineers happened to be in charge of those fighting engineers and there was Scotch blood in his veins—the same sort of blood that coursed through the veins of those "ladies from hell," as the Germans call the kilted Scotchmen.

"We've got to get out of this, men—for the time being," he said, and then collected his workers, gave them their instructions, and led them unscathed through the hailstorm of shells, the men grumbling the while because their work had been interrupted.

For about two miles these engineers retreated; then they ran into a batch of British "Tommies" who were looking for excitement. Lieutenant McLoud told them that he could give them all the excitement they wanted if they would

go with him. They were eager for the fray, so he promptly took command and led them along the path he and his men had just traversed. En route they met a British staff officer and he obtained a supply of ammunition and implements of war for the Americans who were "spoiling for a fight." With these weapons they rushed forward and gave the Germans a disagreeable surprise. In fact, they fought so well that the seasoned British veterans with them sang their praises for days afterward.

Two commissioned and one non-commissioned officer of the 11th Engineers were decorated for their gallant conduct at the Cambrai fight. They were First Lieutenant McLoud, Second Lieutenant Hulsart, and Sergeant McIsaac, who was later made a First Lieutenant.

#### DISTINGUISHED RECORDS

The 11th United States Engineers was originally known as the 11th Railway Engineers. It was organized by Brig. Gen. Charles H. McKinstry. This famous regiment was reviewed in London by King George, and its members are justly proud of its record in the war. Lieut. Col. Barclay Parsons is now in command of the regiment.

Members of the 6th Engineers also took part in the historic engagement at Cambrai, and John N. Hodges, who was at that time the Colonel in command of the 6th, has since been promoted to Brigadier General.

The fighting of our engineers at Cambrai attracted the attention of no less a person than Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, who praised the bravery of Lieutenant McLoud and recommended him for a decoration. McLoud had been Chief Engineer of the New York State Highway Department before he went to France to wear the khaki.

During the British advance at Cambrai, American engineers were so near the first-line troops that fifteen or more members of the 11th Engineers fell into the hands of the enemy, and are now prisoners somewhere in Germany.

#### GOOD WORK AT CAMBRAI

Nothing demonstrates the fearlessness of these gallant fellows more clearly

than their conduct during this British drive. The British drove a wedge into enemy-held territory, and this wedge was naturally exposed to attack from three directions. Being in the vicinity of this wedge was to invite a concentrated fire from the German guns, but the engineers had work to do—guns or no guns—so they stayed. The Germans attacked their position furiously from all three directions at once, and, although it is generally admitted that the engineers might have escaped had they been willing to desert their posts, they stuck to the job until the Germans broke through and made them prisoner.

Other American engineers won the admiration of the British by an exploit performed during the advance at Cambrai. These engineers had extended their railroad tracks some distance behind the enemy's trenches, and during the quick advance they found a German railroad that had been left undamaged, owing to the enemy's unceremonious departure. The Americans promptly connected their own line with that of the Germans' and formed a perfect system by which it was possible for trains to move from the allied tracks to the German-made tracks, saving much labor thereby. This feat was highly appreciated by the British.

As the column advanced the railroad tracks practically kept up with it. Eight miles of track were laid in this way, and there is no other case on record in France of railroad-building under such trying circumstances.

When General Byng was preparing for his historic drive it was necessary for engineers to pave the way. It was decided to place this important work in the hands of the American engineers, and their helpers were to be American workmen. Byng wanted this work accomplished in a week at the most. It seemed out of the question, but the American engineer in charge wouldn't concede any impossibility. Refusing the proffered coolie help, he set to work with his own men—men who knew him and whom he knew. He told them that the work had to be done in the shortest possible time. It was done in less than five days. Dur-

ing that time the engineer in charge had eight and a half hours' sleep.

#### PRAISE FROM GENERAL HAIG

Field Marshal Haig was so impressed with the bravery of American engineers during the fighting around Gouzeaucourt on Nov. 30, 1917, that he wrote a highly complimentary letter to General Pershing, under date of Dec. 6. This letter was as follows:

My dear General Pershing:

I have much pleasure in forwarding herewith for your information a copy of a report submitted to me by General Byng, commanding the 3d British Army, on the gallant conduct of companies of railway engineers of the United States Army in and near Gouzeaucourt on the 30th of November.

I desire to express my thanks and those of the British forces engaged for the prompt and valuable assistance rendered, and I trust that you will be good enough to convey to these gallant men how much we all appreciate their prompt and soldierly readiness to assist in what was for a time a difficult situation.

I much regret the losses suffered by these companies.

These engineers were from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Atlanta, San Francisco, and other big American cities.

#### FIRST AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVE

The arrival of the first American locomotive in France was a big event to our men over there. When the parts arrived at a French port they were assembled by our workmen with amazing rapidity. And while they were at work another force of men was busy constructing a railroad "arm" running to the main line. Then the locomotive was started on its epoch-making trip, tooting triumphantly to the crowds that watched its exit.

This first locomotive made a spectacular trip across France, attracting great attention everywhere it went. The size of the engine, and particularly its bell, would have identified the big stranger even if it hadn't proudly carried an American flag. It was a happy day for the engineer in charge of that locomotive. Caesar never received a more royal welcome. Doughboys all along the line

shouted themselves hoarse and waved their caps as the monster dashed by.

"Oh, you America!" they shouted in a perfect ecstasy of delight. And when the locomotive stopped they would crowd around and pat it lovingly, as if it were a live thing that could respond to their caresses.

It was a big order that these railroad engineers agreed to fill when they arrived in France. Tracks had to be laid, zigzagging in all directions from the various supply depots. And they first had to build the depots and warehouses and then plan out an efficient system by which the constantly arriving supplies could be best routed from the receiving ports to the active front. But they did it all, and today the railroad construction work in France will compare favorably with work of this sort in America.

#### OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES

To cite one difficulty that arose—and only one—our engineers early discovered that the wheel trucks of American-made railroad cars would not pass over the queer French turntables. Consequently, our men had to build a complete turntable system of their own. They had to overcome obstacles on every hand, because the French methods are obsolete when compared with the giant strides that practical railroading has taken in America during the past few years.

Samuel Felton, who has charge of the organization and development of the various railroad regiments in France, has proved himself fully equal to the exacting demands of this, the biggest job he has ever tackled. The operating part of the railroad work in France is under the capable supervision of Brig. Gen. W. W. Atterbury, Vice President of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Our engineers in France can use their heads as well as their hands. They are performing multitudinous duties, from railroad building to camouflage work. Here is the way the various engineering regiments are designated, and from these names alone one can get a good idea of the wide range of their activities: Water supply, mining, quarrying, surveying, highway, forestry, light railroading,

standard gauge railroading, engineers' supplies, gas and flame, general construction, army, and pontoon post.

These men are frequently exposed to danger, as were those engineers who fought with Lieutenant McLoud at Cambrai. This is particularly true of the Road Building Regiment, whose members have alternated between building roads and killing Germans. These men have lost many of their comrades under fire. One member of this regiment was found stabbed to death by boche bayonets, and in front of him were three Germans who had been killed by a railroad pick, still clutched in the hands of this valorous fighter.

#### FIGHTING IN PICARDY

At the beginning of the German drive in Picardy on March 21, 1918, the American engineers were hard at work constructing field railways, building bridges, and doing other work so necessary in modern warfare. Again they found themselves in the thick of things, and again they distinguished themselves by their valor. Dead Germans lay in the wake of their railroads, and live Germans who interfered with their bridge-building activities were promptly put out of the way. Whatever happened, work must go on!

The American engineers in Picardy were under the command of Brig. Gen. Sandeman Carey and were generally referred to by the doughboys in France as "Mother Carey's Chickens."

"And, believe me, they are some chickens!" said one admiring doughboy, in describing their exploits. "But they are tough chickens," he concluded, "too tough for German eating."

Three companies of these "chickens" were caught early in the first German bombardment and were ordered back. One of these companies had the job of destroying valuable property that was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. The "chickens" did their work well, caught up with their comrades, and began digging new trenches, although they had been without food and sleep for a long period of time.

So full of admiration for these men

was the British General in command of that sector—General Rawlinson—that he sent this letter to the commander of the American regiment:

The army commander wishes to record officially the excellent work your regiment has done in aiding the British Army to resist the enemy's powerful offensive during the last ten days. I fully realize that it has been largely due to your assistance that the enemy is checked, and I rely on you to assist us still further during the few days which are still to come before I shall be able to relieve you in the line.

I consider your work in the line to be greatly enhanced by the fact that for six days previous to taking your place in the front line your men had been working at such high pressure erecting the heaviest bridges on the Somme.

My best congratulations and warm thanks to all.

The British General commanding the 1st Cavalry Division, with which these gallant engineers fought against the Germans, received a congratulatory message from a General higher in command, who, when he understood the big part that the engineers had played, sent this letter to their commander:

As the United States Engineer Battalion was fighting with the 1st Cavalry Division in the line on March 30, the army commander's congratulatory message applies to them equally with the units of the 1st Cavalry Division. It has been brought to my notice that the men under your command fought most gallantly alongside the British cavalry. I am most grateful to you for the invaluable assistance you gave us on March 30, 1918. Please convey my thanks and congratulations to all ranks.

To add to this symposium of praise, General Pershing sent the following note to the commander of the engineers:

The Commander in Chief has noted with great satisfaction the fine conduct of the officers and men of your regiment during the recent German offensive, as testified to by the British Army and its corps commanders.

When the final history of America's part in this war comes to be written it will be found that these regiments of fighting engineers have paid a heavy toll. Their lives are filled with danger and it is hard to write about them without seeming overeulogistic.

I saw one picturesque monument to the energy of these men at a big regu-

lating station in France. It is the officers' club now, and was built by pioneer engineers, working under the most difficult and primitive conditions, undeterred by the ceaselessly falling rain that turned the roads into sloughs of despond.

When these American engineers—these Boones and Kentons of the twentieth century—first arrived at this French village, bedraggled and forlorn representatives of a mighty republic 3,000 miles away, they found nothing except a field of mud on the spot where the officers' club now stands. It was up to them to erect some sort of shelter and they had to work quickly.

They were resourceful fellows, not to be bluffed by weather or lack of facilities, so they went to work with their hands, possessed of a blind faith in their own ability to make something out of nothing. With the aid of the ever-present mud; with sticks which they cut or picked up in the forest; with stones which they unearthed from the ground

or picked up along the banks of a nearby river, they constructed their house and then thatched over the top with a sort of coarse sedge grass that abounds in France.

The result of these labors is a building that looks as if it might have been transplanted straight from the heart of Ireland, and which is the envy of every visitor who inspects it. It has a large living room with a wide fireplace, and the visitor who did not know the extraordinary history of the building might well believe it to be a prizetaking bungalow. Yet its erection was only another part of the day's work to these beaver-like workers in khaki.

It would take a Kipling to write the epic story of these two-fisted, hard-fighting engineers. Unwittingly, they have made a legend of themselves in France that will be handed down to future generations. Their glory is their own achievement.

## Local Powers in India Extended

The joint report of two committees which studied the Indian situation on the ground from November to March with a view to amplifying the Montagu-Chelmsford report of July, 1918, was published in London on May 12, 1919. These committees were respectively the Franchise and what may be called the Governmental Committee, headed by Lord Southborough and R. Feetham.

The report of the Franchise Committee recommended a scheme of territorial constituencies, urban and rural, the latter based on the existing land revenue districts, together with communal representation for Mohammedans and Sikhs and for Indian Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians; and the representation of special interests, including commerce and industry. Woman suffrage was rejected as inexpedient.

The other committee made detailed recommendations as to the division of functions between the Government of India and the Provisional Governments, and also between "reserved" and "transferred" subjects in the provinces. Proposals were made for the modification in some important respects (notably in the powers conferred on the Governor) of this so-called "diarchical" system in the provinces; friction between the two departments was to be eliminated by the Governor's initiative, and the latter was to be given executive authority to see that the orders of the Governors General in Council affecting the two departments were fulfilled.

# Philippine Independence Movement

By MAXIMO M. KALAW

*Secretary of the Philippine Mission*

**A**FTER the armed opposition to the United States was put down the Filipino people began a peaceful campaign for independence. At first this movement was not an organized one, because in the early years of American occupation a law had been passed by the Philippine Commission prohibiting all agitation for independence. The only political party which could very well exist under these conditions was the Federal Party, which advocated Statehood and permanent annexation to the United States. This party, however, soon saw the unpopularity of its stand, for it could not find supporters either in the Philippines or in the United States, and so as soon as conditions permitted the advocacy of separation it left out the Statehood plan and advocated independence after a period of preparation.

In the meanwhile a strong independence party had been formed, called the Nationalist Party, and at the first national election to the Philippine Assembly in 1907 this party obtained popular favor, for out of the eighty representatives elected there were only fifteen members of the old Federal Party—notwithstanding the fact that the Federal Party had changed its platform and advocated independence.

If there had been any doubt as to the attitude of the Filipino people on independence, this was dispelled by the attitude of the Philippine Assembly, the first national representative body to be convoked following American occupation. At the end of the first session this representative body unanimously ratified the closing address of Speaker Osmena on the question of independence. The Speaker, in part, had said:

Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as a Deputy and representative of my compatriots, and under my responsibility as President of this Chamber, that we be-

lieve the people desire independence, and that we believe ourselves capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal and external affairs, as a member of the free and civilized nations.

By virtue of the organic act of the Philippines passed by Congress in 1902, the Philippine Assembly was allowed to send a representative to Washington to voice the aspirations of the Filipino people. In 1907 the Hon. Pablo Ocampo was sent to Washington as Resident Commissioner, who, in pursuance of the mandate of the Assembly, advocated the independence of the Philippines. His successor, the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, who was Resident Commissioner from 1909 to 1916, continued with great vim and vigor the campaign for independence in the United States. In 1911 the Democratic Party, which had advocated independence, secured control of the House of Representatives at Washington, and the following year the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs reported a bill providing for a qualified independence for eight years and for complete independence in 1921. In 1914 a bill was passed by the House providing for independence as soon as a stable Government could be established in the islands. The bill, however, was crowded out of the calendar in the Senate and failed to be passed.

The independence movement was constantly gaining ground, and two years afterward, in February, 1916, when Congress again took up the Philippine question, the Senate passed the so-called Clarke amendment, which would grant the Philippines independence within four years, although the time might be extended upon the advice of the President to Congress. The Clarke amendment had the support of the Filipino people. It was contended in the House of Representatives, however, that it would be unwise to set a definite date for independence, for nobody knew what the contin-

gency would be at the time. What the House did was simply to repass the bill it had passed in 1914, promising in its preamble that the Philippines should be granted their independence "as soon as a stable Government could be established therein." The Senate receded from its position and passed the House bill.

In the meanwhile the independence movement in the Philippines was constantly growing. A group separate itself from the Nationalist Party, believing that the party did not work hard enough for independence, and this group called itself the Third Party. The old Federal Party had been converted into the Progressive Party, and was now advocating early independence. The two opposing parties were soon merged into one called the Democratic Party, charging the Nationalist Party with being unfaithful to the people and not doing all it could for the independence of the Philippines. It advocated a more radical measure for the Philippines, and was reluctant to accept the Jones law, which simply promised independence as soon as a stable Government could be established in the islands.

President Wilson had given the Filipino people a larger amount of autonomy through the appointment in 1913 of a majority of Filipinos in the upper house, or Philippine Commission, and this step gave the Filipinos virtually autonomous powers in their domestic affairs. The Jones law, which promised independence, ratified this Presidential step, and gave the Filipinos a completely elective Legislature composed of a Senate and House of Representatives, and practically gave them control of the executive departments. Today there are only two Americans in the political departments of the Philippine Government.

Upon the passage of the Jones law the Filipino people got busy organizing the new Government with a view of showing the American people that they could establish a stable Government. They organized the executive departments, adopting a quasi-Parliamentary system whereby the members of the Cabinet can be members of the Legislature, and can be heard and be called upon by the Leg-

islature on matters pertaining to their departments. A budget system was established which was pronounced by all observers to be a success. Public improvements were given great impetus. While in 1913 appropriations for public works did not go over \$1,500,000, the appropriation for 1918 was \$8,500,000. The demand for more and more schools was answered with an appropriation of \$15,000,000, calculated to give every child of school age the rudiments of education. The railways of Luzon were bought over by the Government, and were run at a profit of \$500,000 a year more than under private management. A Philippine national bank was established, whose resources jumped from barely \$10,000,000 in 1916 to \$130,000,000 at the end of 1918.

From the passage of the Jones law in 1916 to the ending of hostilities in Europe, the Filipino people refrained from all agitation in favor of independence. Their reason was America's entry in the war. The Filipino people thought that the renewal of the movement for separation at the time might embarrass the United States. "With fine self-restraint," says Secretary of War Baker, "the Filipino people refrained from active discussion of this question, deeming it inopportune at the time, and threw all their energies and all their resources into the common scale with the people of the United States." As soon as it was learned in the Philippines that the United States had declared war on Germany, the Philippine Legislature offered all services and resources of the Philippines to the United States. They expressed unconditional adherence to the cause of America. They contributed a submarine and a destroyer to the fleet of the United States. They oversubscribed all the Liberty loan allotments and contributed generously to the Red Cross funds. They offered the services of 25,000 of their militiamen to go to France, but when the Philippine division was ready the armistice had been signed. "No other American Territory," says Governor General Harrison, "was more loyal to the United States during the war."

Now that the war is ended and the

task of international reconstruction has begun, the Filipino people believe that the time has come for the final solution of the Philippine independence problem. They hold that the condition precedent to the recognition of their independence—the establishment of a stable Government—is already fulfilled. On Nov. 7, 1918, the Philippine Legislature passed a concurrent resolution creating a Commission of Independence, to be composed of the presiding officers of both houses and other members of the Legislature, for the purpose of considering and reporting:

- (a) Ways and means of negotiation now for the granting and recognition of the independence of the Philippines;
- (b) External guarantees of the stability and permanence of said independence as well as of territorial integrity; and
- (c) Ways and means of organizing in a speedy, effectual, and orderly manner a constitutional and democratic internal Government.

One of the first actions of the Commission of Independence was to recommend the sending of a special Philippine Mission to the United States. This recommendation was approved by the Philippine Legislature in Joint Resolution No. 11, and forty prominent Filipinos representing both houses of the Legislature, commercial, industrial, agricultural, and labor interests, presided over by Senate President Manuel L. Quezon as Chairman and Secretary of the Interior Palma as Vice Chairman, were sent to the United States.

On March 7, 1919, the Philippine Legislature passed a Declaration of Purposes which would serve as instructions or guides to the Commission of Independence and the Philippine Mission to the United States. The Declaration of Purposes, in part, reads thus:

The Philippine question has reached such a stage that a full and final exchange of views between the United States of America and the Philippine Islands has become necessary. We need not repeat the declarations respecting the national aspirations of the Filipino people. Such declarations have been made from time to time in the most frank and solemn manner by the constitutional representatives of the Philippine Nation, and are a matter of permanent record in public documents covering more than a

decade of persistent efforts, particularly during the last three years. America, on her part, has been sufficiently explicit in her purposes from the beginning of her occupation of the Philippines. \*\*\*

In applying the principles enunciated in documents and utterances on the Philippines to the conditions now existing in the islands, the Independence Commission will find the following facts:

That there exist at present in the Philippine Islands the conditions of order and government which America has for nearly a century and a half required in all cases in which she has recognized the independence of a country or the establishment of a new Government.

That there exist likewise in the Philippines all the conditions of stability and guarantees for law and order that Cuba had to establish to the satisfaction of America in order to obtain her independence, or to preserve it, during the military occupation of 1898-1902 and during the intervention of 1906-1909, respectively.

That the "preparation for independence" and the "stable Government" required by President Wilson and the Congress of the United States, respectively, contain no new requisite not included in any of the cases above cited.

That these prerequisites for Philippine independence are the same as those virtually or expressly established by the Republican Administrations that preceded President Wilson's Administration.

That during the entire time that the Filipino people have been with America, they have been living in the confidence that the American occupation was only temporary and that its final aim was not aggrandizement or conquest, but the peace, welfare, and liberty of the Filipino people.

That this faith in the promises of America was a cardinal factor not only in the co-operation between Americans and Filipinos during the years of peace, but also in the co-operation between Americans and Filipinos during the war.

That the condition of thorough development of the internal affairs of the country and the present international atmosphere of justice, liberty, and security for all peoples are the most propitious for the fulfillment by America of her promises and for her redemption of the pledges she has made before the world.

In the light of these facts and considerations the Filipino people are confident that it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory final decision, as we deal no longer with a disputed question, but are merely endeavoring to agree upon the final adjustment of a matter with regard to which, according to President Wilson's words, there exists, so far as fundamentals are concerned, "a perfect harmony

of ideals and feelings" between the Governments of the United States and of the Philippine Islands, which harmony has brought about "that real friendship and mutual support which is the foundation of all sound political policy." (Nov. 29. 1918.)

Therefore, so far as it is humanly possible to judge and say, we can see only one aim for the Independence Commission—Independence; and we can give only one instruction—to get it. Thus America, in adding another glory to her banner by establishing the first really democratic republic in the East, will apply a second time, generously and freely, the same measure of humanity and justice that she applied in the case of Cuba, which is but a logical and natural sequence of the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence. This Declaration, which belongs to all humanity, has now as much force as it had in the days when America proclaimed it. America will thus vindicate the memory of President McKinley, to whom the "forcible annexation" of peoples meant "criminal aggression," and who, upon taking over the Philippines "for high duty in the interest of their inhabitants and for humanity and civilization," solemnly said: "Our sacrifices were with this motive. We want to improve the condition of the inhabitants, securing them peace, liberty, and the pursuit of their highest good."

Thus finally America will carry out the efforts and assurances of President Wilson, who, upon the signing of the armistice, said to the Filipinos: "I hope and believe that the future holds brighter hope for the States which have heretofore been the prey of great powers and will realize for all the world the offers of justice and peace which have prompted the magnificent co-operation of the present war." (Nov. 29, 1918.)

The Filipinos will thus have a better opportunity to demonstrate how deeply rooted is their gratitude for America, when, after her voluntary withdrawal from these islands, we preserve here the immortal spirit of her democratic institutions and associate with her in her future enterprise of justice and peace in carrying to the darkest corners of the earth, which lack happiness because their people do not control their own destinies, the quickening flame of justice, democracy, and liberty.

In addition to the instructions of the Philippine Legislature the Commission of Independence had cabled the Philippine Mission in the United States further instructions, which read in part as follows:

The Philippine Mission will please convey to the Government of the United States the frankest assurances of the good-will, friendship, and gratitude of the Filipino people, and submit with as much respect as confidence the question of Philippine independence with a view to its final settlement.

Now that the war is over and the world is engaged in applying in the concrete the principles that have come out triumphant from it; now that the Filipino people have passed the tests to which their capacity has been submitted, can it be deemed inopportune or ill-advised for them to submit the pending question to the United States, or even to any other, competent tribunal of the world for its final adjustment? The problem being so varied in its aspects, the Filipino people will welcome an opportunity to discuss the terms of the concession of independence and the scope of the covenants necessary for the guarantee, safety, and stability of the new State and for the establishment and maintenance of such external relations, especially with America, as may be equitable and beneficial and as the circumstances may demand.

The Philippine Mission had intended to see President Wilson, but on account of his hurried trip to Europe he delegated Secretary of War Baker, who had supervision of Philippine affairs, to meet the Philippine Mission. The Secretary of War read to the mission a letter from President Wilson in which the President said in part:

Though unable to meet the commission, the Filipino people shall not be absent from my thoughts. Not the least important labor of the conference which now requires my attention is that of making the pathway of the weaker people of the world less perilous—a labor which should be, and doubtless is, of deep and abiding interest to the Filipino people.

I am sorry that I cannot look into the faces of the gentlemen of this mission from the Philippine Islands and tell them all that I have in mind and heart as I think of the patient labor, with the end almost in sight, undertaken by the American and Filipino people for their permanent benefit.

[An election held in the Philippine Islands early in June gave overwhelming support to the mission then in the United States. At Washington the subject of Philippine independence was promptly scheduled for consideration by Congress.]

# Korean Unrest Under Japanese Rule

## Growth of the Movement for Independence and Japanese Methods of Repression

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1919]

**A**S stated at the close of the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY, the Korean Independence Party had organized a Provisional Revolutionary Government, with headquarters in Manchuria, and with Pah Yung Ho as Vice President and Dr. Syngham Rhee as Secretary of State. Before proceeding with the narrative a brief summary of how Korea lost its independence may not be amiss. Korea was a bone of contention in the Chino-Japanese war of 1894, and it was distrust of the growing Russian influence in Korea that helped to cause the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. At that time the Korean Government consented to the occupation of the peninsula by Japan for the period of the war, with every assurance on the part of Japan that at the end of the war she would withdraw. On Feb. 3, 1904, a treaty was entered into between Japan and Korea by which Japan guaranteed the safety, independence, and territorial integrity of Korea; on Aug. 22, 1904, Japan took charge of Korean financial and diplomatic affairs; on Nov. 17, 1905, control of all Korean foreign affairs passed to Japan, and the Mikado's Government embarked upon a policy of gradual absorption.

The appearance at The Hague tribunal in 1907 of an unofficial Korean delegation seeking Korea's rights as an independent nation was seized upon by Japan as a violation of its treaties with Korea and made the basis of a successful demand for the abdication of the Emperor of Korea; on July 25, 1907, Korea was reduced to the position of a Japanese province, with Marquis Ito as the first Resident General, and Japan embarked upon a policy of political, economic, and social reforms; on Aug. 27, 1910, Japan formally annexed Korea, declaring that so long as Korea was out-

side of the Japanese Empire it was impossible to effect the desired reforms, so it was "benevolently assimilated," again "with the consent of the Korean Government," an institution that was absolutely under the control and domination of Japan. The attitude of the Korean people toward this proceeding was manifested in rioting and mob violence which was put down with a ruthless hand by the Japanese military chiefs.

These actions on the part of Japan were not without protest upon the part of the people of Korea. Strong representations were made to the United States Government, which, in 1882, had made a treaty agreeing to protect Korea from aggression, but our Government chose to ignore its obligations under the treaty rather than enter into a controversy with Japan over a matter that was considered within Japan's sphere of influence. The delegation to The Hague tribunal was, through the influence of Japan, denied a hearing, and Japan was left with a free hand to do with Korea as she would.

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Since the close of the great European war there has been an increasing spirit of unrest under Japanese rule. It took on definite and significant form in the days immediately preceding the funeral of the former Emperor of Korea at Seoul on March 3. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of March 1 the Japanese authorities of every large city in Korea were suddenly confronted with passive demonstrations and demands of freedom. The following brief declaration of independence, signed by thirty-three citizens, was issued under that date, and was made public by the Korean National Association of San Francisco in June:

We herewith proclaim the independence

of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right.

We make this proclamation, having back of us 5,000 years of history and 20,000,000 of a united, loyal people. We take this step to insure to our children for all time to come personal liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principle of the present age, the whole human race's just claim. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed by any means.

Victims of an older age, when brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled, we have come after these long thousands of years to experience the agony of ten years of foreign oppression, with every loss to the right to live, every restriction of the freedom of thought, every damage done to the dignity of life, every opportunity lost for a share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to be unloosed, if the future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if right of action is to be given a place, if we are to attain to any way of progress, if we are to deliver our children from the painful, shameful heritage, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the clear-cut independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, every man with sword in heart, in this day when human nature and conscience are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

We have no desire to accuse Japan of breaking many solemn treaties since 1636, nor to single out specially the teachers in the schools or Government officials who treat the heritage of our ancestors as a colony of their own, and our people and their civilization as a nation of savages, finding delight only in beating us down and bringing us under their heel.

We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt of our civilization and the principles on which her State rests; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend precious time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need today is the setting up of this house of

ours and not a discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force, which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change, act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

The result of annexation, brought about without any conference with the Korean people, is that the Japanese, indifferent to us, use every kind of partiality for their own, and by a false set of figures show a profit and loss account between us two peoples most untrue, digging a trench of everlasting resentment deeper and deeper the further they go.

Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be to correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere, and by true sympathy and friendly feeling make a new world in which the two peoples will be equally blessed?

To bind a force of 20,000,000 of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the ever-growing suspicion of 400,000,000 of Chinese—upon whom depends the danger or safety of the Far East—besides strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will suffer. Today Korean independence will mean not only daily life and happiness for us, but also it would mean Japan's departure from an evil way and exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dreams, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

A new era wakes before our eyes; the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on life's affairs. The insects, stifled by the frost and snow of Winter, awake at this same time with the breezes of Spring and the soft light of the sun upon them.

It is the day of the restoration of all things on the full tide of which we set forth without delay or fear. We desire a full measure of satisfaction in the way of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and an opportunity to develop what is in us for the glory of our people.

We awake now from the old world with its darkened conditions in full determination and one heart and one mind, with right on our side, along with the forces of nature, to a new life. May all the ancestors to the thousand and ten

thousand generations aid us from within, and all the forces of the world aid us from without, and let the day we take hold be the day of our attainment. In this hope we go forward.

#### INCREASING UNREST

A series of articles in the Japan Weekly Chronicle of April and May, 1919, gave an interesting picture of the disturbances in Korea, which the Japanese were still suppressing by military force. So far from becoming quieter the situation appeared to be assuming graver dimensions. A Japanese official, quoted by vernacular papers, said that the disturbances in Kyongi Province were growing, while Whanghai, South Chyungchong, and Kangwon Provinces, which are adjacent to Kongi Province, were becoming gradually affected.

For three days following March 31 violent disturbances occurred at more than 100 places. Most of the rioters were armed with cudgels, sickles, axes, razors and similar weapons, with which they made murderous attacks upon police officials. As usual, no mention was made of police provocation. At Wiji, in North Pyungan Province, a mob of 3,000 attacked the local branch of the Gendarmerie and wrecked the building. [This case was also mentioned by another correspondent, who stated that the troops fired on a peaceful demonstration, and many were killed.] At Heiohyan, in South Chyungchang Province, rioters numbering about 600 raided the local branch of the Gendarmerie twice and damaged various articles of furniture. A mob of about 2,000 Koreans made a raid upon a police station at Yangsung in Ansung, Kyongi Province, and set fire to the building, razing it to the ground. Besides these incidents, the destruction of houses inhabited by the Japanese, the burning of bridges and similar happenings were reported from various places.

As causes accounting for this serious development of the Korean situation it was mentioned that the movement was incited and supported by the Koreans abroad, particularly those who were naturalized in Russian territory, those resident in Chientao, and those having their headquarters at Shanghai. It was

alleged that some of these Koreans had managed to effect an entry into the peninsula and were secretly propagating Bolshevism among the ignorant with a view to destroying order in Korea and then causing trouble to Japan proper. The idea that Japanese administration and Japanese methods of suppressing peaceful demonstration had anything to do with the trouble, said the Japan Chronicle, never of course entered the mind of a Japanese journalist.

#### CONDITIONS IN SEOUL

A Korean correspondent, writing on April 2, described conditions in Seoul as follows:

A stranger entering Seoul for the first time yesterday, and having only heard beforehand of the disturbances there, would at once have said, "What ferocious people these Koreans must be!" For at a distance of every ten yards on either side of the principal streets of Seoul was a fully armed Japanese soldier, and at certain points a guard of from ten to twenty soldiers was stationed with piled arms. Moreover, if he had happened to be near the Seoul Gate at 3 he would have seen a posse of mounted soldiers gallop into the city escorting six machine guns. After seeing all this it would be useless to try and explain to him that the Koreans were absolutely without arms, and that their only crime was that of shouting "Hurrah for Independence!"

The Seoul newspapers announce that the Governor of the city called together forty leading Korean merchants on April 1, and "advised" them to open their shops, and that policemen had "persuaded" them to do so. \* \* \* Things are not better, but rather worse. One hospital is full of wounded people, and the American Red Cross people were all busy on Sunday last making sheets and bandages for their use. One man who eventually died had eighteen bayonet wounds in his body. A photograph has been taken of this and of many other atrocities, including that of a child whose brains were scattered by the butt end of a rifle.

#### THE WIJU MASSACRE

According to a correspondent writing on April 20, it was becoming more and more evident that the military had taken charge of the whole country and were using drastic measures everywhere. The correspondent said, in part:

On March 21 the military rushed forty soldiers up to Wiju from Shin-Wiju to

deal with demonstrators. These soldiers were posted outside the city walls, in pickets of two and three, and attacked the people as they were returning to their homes in the country. It is reliably reported that many men, women, and children were bayoneted and otherwise wounded. These acts roused the people still further.

On April 1 about noon the believers in Christianity and the Heavenly Path, numbering about 200 in all, paraded through the city of Wiju with flags bearing the words "Korean Independence" on them and crying "Mansei!" Soon another thousand people joined them, and the demonstration went on upon a large scale. They were quite orderly. Soon about a hundred Japanese, consisting of soldiers, gendarmes, and firemen, came up and fired on the people. Two men were killed. But the crowd, heedless of the firing, went on crying "Mansei!" Thereupon the Japanese soldiers stopped firing and began to attack the people with their bayonets and clubs. About thirty Koreans were thus terribly wounded. But the crowd still went on crying "Mansei!" all the afternoon and remained in their places until midnight. The Japanese soldiers and firemen who were on duty the night through beat every Korean they met and this prevented many from returning to their homes. \* \* \* In this small area as many as ninety-four persons have been done to death, and if we add the wounded who died later it may safely be said that no less than about 130 have been killed by Japanese troops, police, and the so-called "firemen," which appears to be quite a new name for these ruffians, who are armed with long iron hooks. They would be known as "cut-throats" elsewhere or "soshi" in Japan.

Further details of the Wiju massacre were published on April 24. It appeared that thirty-five Koreans had been gathered in the local chapel and killed. The chapel was set on fire. An investigating party, including the British and American Consuls, went to the scene and viewed the charred bodies of the victims.

The Seoul press of April 23 announced that of the 2,000 people arrested there, 1,200 had been released after being "very severely admonished." Quite a number of those who were admonished, said the Chronicle, still bear the marks of the "admonitions" on their bodies and some had to go to the local hospital. Only 4,000 Koreans had been arrested up to the end of March.

### USE OF CRUEL METHODS

Subsequent dispatches indicated that the campaign of repression was continuing actively. One correspondent, under date of April 22, wrote as follows:

If General Hasegawa really said and really means that the local authorities, including the police, will devote themselves to guiding popular sentiments along the right paths, the Koreans are in for a very hot time. The police are visiting every village and hamlet in the prefecture where this is written and those adjoining. Men of all ages are collected and badly beaten in order to find out if they shouted "Mansei!" or knew any one who did. \* \* \*

The abominable cruelty of the soldiers at Su Chon and Nam Yang, places near Su Won, has caused a tremendous sensation all through the country. \* \* \*

The official figures given of the Koreans killed and wounded are remarkably small. If true figures could be got, it would be found that Kyeng Ki Province alone would account for over 200 deaths, and if the number of those who have died as the result of ill-treatment received from soldiers, police, firemen, and civilian Japanese be added, the number would probably be doubled.

### JAPANESE SEND TROOPS

The Mainichi, like the Jiji, stated that "resolute steps" to suppress the disturbances in Korea were definitely decided on at a regular Japanese Cabinet Council on April 4. What these steps were to be was partly indicated by the dispatch to Korea of six Japanese battalions, with 400 supplementary gendarmes. Except for a few disturbances in South Kyungsang Province on April 12, the general situation in the peninsula was officially stated as quiet since April 9. A correspondent writing on April 10 described the condition of affairs as follows:

In most places even the foreigners are forbidden to go out after dark unless on business of importance, and then a lighted lantern must be carried. At the town where I am staying there are no military at present, but their place has been taken by Japanese firemen, whose conduct is apparently quite unrestrained by discipline. Many unfortunate Koreans have been terribly treated by them for being in the streets after dark.

The Rev. E. M. Mowry of the American Presbyterian Church, in charge of a mission school in Pyongyang, was arrested on a charge of affording shelter

to rebels and underwent examination at the hands of the local judicial authorities. The various mission schools at Pyongyang under American management had been reported to be implicated in the Korean disturbances, and this had caused the local authorities to keep a watchful eye on these institutions. Domiciliary searches made at Mr. Mowry's house revealed that he had been giving shelter to eleven Koreans who were wanted by the police as accomplices in the agitation. Some documentary evidence establishing his connection with the printing of a manifesto was also seized, followed by the arrest of the American upon a writ issued by the public procurator on the charge of concealing criminals.

#### A JAPANESE VIEW

The Japanese newspaper *Nichi-Nichi* commented on the Korean troubles as follows:

Dominions and colonies are in a restless and unsettled state throughout the world. Nations long possessed of a civilization of their own which have been annexed and subjugated by other nations are now restless everywhere, stimulated as they have been by the thought current which has newly set in in the wake of the great war. The disturbances in Egypt are another case in point. India is also in danger, it appears. Of the disturbances in Korea, the causes are exceedingly complicated. They are (1) dissatisfaction with the administration under a Governor General, (2) the movement for the self-determination of peoples and (3) instigation on the part of foreigners, &c. But the immediate cause is to be sought in the misconception on the part of the Koreans of the so-called principle of self-determination of peoples—a principle which was hailed by the ignorant Koreans as a Heaven-sent gospel when it was advocated by President Wilson. It is obvious that this induced them to dream of, and aspire for, the independence of their country and gave rise to the present disturbances. Indeed, a certain section of the Koreans was dissatisfied with the rule of a Governor General and on the lookout for a chance for rising against such rule, but they had no pretext for doing so until the principle of self-determination of peoples was emphasized by President Wilson, and certain supporters of a League of Nations urged the limitation of armaments and abolition of conscription.

Moriya Konosuka, a Japanese politi-

cian, on his return to Japan from Korea, discussed the situation as follows:

Judging from materials which I have collected, by reference to head men of villages and others, the Korean disturbances may be ascribed to five principal causes. In the first place, the discriminatory treatment accorded to the Koreans must be mentioned. Koreans may be possessed of the same educational training as Japanese, but they are denied the same treatment. They are below their Japanese confreres in official rank and are given smaller salaries. This is one reason why the Korean intellectual classes, or students, have taken part in the disturbances.

Secondly, the complexities of the administration and taxation system must be pointed out. Under the old régime, taxes used to be collected at harvest time, once a year, while at the present time taxes are to be paid in installments. This is all very well, but when taxes are found in arrears the tax officials show little mercy for the poor people, and as a means of forcing their payment these officials carry off pans, kettles, and other utensils of daily use. Such a procedure cannot but arouse strong resentment in the Korean mind. Korea is now in possession of very good roads, but these roads have been constructed solely from public levies. In the days of the Yi dynasty it was usual that in such cases the necessary funds should be raised from the rich, but under the Japanese administration the burdens are levied equally upon all people, rich and poor alike. This naturally weighs heavily upon people in narrow circumstances.

Thirdly, the suppression of the freedom of the press must be cited. The Governor General permits the publication of newspapers at the rate of one in each of the thirteen provinces. To make the situation worse for the Koreans, almost all these journals are semi-official sheets. They are thus deprived of the means of giving publicity to their discontents, which consequently do not reach the ears of the Governor General. This state of affairs is responsible in part for the fact that the Heavenly Path, which is no political organization, is turned into an agency for giving consolation to the malcontents. This situation is also taken advantage of by the adherents of this faith and by the Christians, who by dint of display of sympathy with these Koreans contrive to increase the number of converts.

Fourthly, the compulsory methods of assimilation resorted to by the Governor General may be noted. It is superfluous to say that the colonial policy of training the Koreans, who have a history

of 2,000 years, in the same way as the Japanese is destined to fail.

Lastly, the spread of the principle of self-determination among the Koreans must be quoted as responsible for the present commotion.

It was announced on April 16 that the Korean Congress, claiming to represent three million Koreans outside of Korea, had petitioned the Associated Governments in Paris and President Wilson to recognize the Provisional Republican Government of Korea.

The Korean delegates from the United States and Hawaii in the Congress held in Philadelphia on April 17, issued an appeal for the support and sympathy of the American people in the effort of the Koreans to gain their freedom and independence. Resolutions were adopted to be sent to the Japanese people protesting against the Japanese rule in Korea.

#### A KOREAN CONSTITUTION

A Constitution of the Korean Republic was proclaimed on April 27 by the provisional Cabinet at an unnamed city in the Orient. The first copy of this instrument reached San Francisco on June 6 and was made public there by Dr. David Lee, General Manager of the Korean National Association. The text is as follows:

By the will of God, the people of Korea, both within and without the country, have united in a peaceful declaration of their independence and for over one month have carried on their demonstrations in over 300 districts, and because of their faith in the movement they have, by their representatives, chosen a Provisional Government to carry on to completion this independence, and so to preserve blessings for our children and grandchildren.

The Provisional Government, in its Council of State, has decided on a provisional Constitution, which it now proclaims.

1. The Ta Han (Korean) Republic shall follow republican principles.

2. All powers of State shall rest with the Provisional Council of State and the Provisional Government.

3. There shall be no class distinction among the citizens of the Ta Han Republic, but men and women, noble and common, rich and poor, shall have equality.

4. The citizens of the Ta Han Republic shall have religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of writing and publication, the right to hold public meetings and form social organizations and the full right to choose their dwellings or change their abode.

5. The citizens of the Ta Han Republic shall have the right to vote for all public officials or to be elected to public office.

6. Citizens will be subject to compulsory education and military service and payment of taxes.

7. Since by the will of God the Ta Han Republic has arisen in the world and has come forward as a tribute to the world peace and civilization, for this reason we wish to become a member of the League of Nations.

8. The Ta Han Republic will extend benevolent treatment to the former imperial family.

9. The death penalty, corporal punishment, and public prostitution will be abolished.

10. Within one year of the recovery of our lands the National Congress will be convened.

Signed by the Provisional Secretary of State and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Justice, Finance, War, Communications. In the first year of the Ta Han Republic, fourth month.

The following are six principles of government:

1. We proclaim the equality of the people and the State.

2. The lives and property of foreigners shall be respected.

3. All political offenders shall be specifically pardoned.

4. We will observe all treaties that shall be made with foreign powers.

5. We swear to stand by the independence of Korea.

6. Those who disregard the orders of the Provisional Government will be regarded as enemies of the State.

## The Rise of Democracy in Japan

ONE of the most "ominous" signs of the growth of democracy in Japan, according to a Tokio correspondent of The London Morning Post, is the campaign for extension of the suffrage.

Demonstrations in this cause have been led mainly by students, of whom there are more than 30,000 in Tokio alone; but considerable numbers of politicians and members of the Imperial Diet have par-

ticipated to an encouraging degree. The fact that the police have treated these mass meetings with great leniency is significant of the influence of democracy from abroad. Since the rice riots last year popular discontent has been treated with remarkable delicacy, though the leaders of the riots have been severely punished, some of them receiving long terms of imprisonment. The authorities are ostensibly anxious to show, however, that this does not mean any attempt at suppression of popular opinion. For it is the unsatisfactory condition of labor that is really at the bottom of the social disaffection. It was for this reason, says The Morning Post writer, that the bureaucratic Terauchi Cabinet was turned out and an avowedly democratic Ministry installed.

That there is ample reason for extension of the suffrage is clear from the fact that out of a population of some 60,000,000 no more than 1,600,000 men are entitled to vote. At first it was suggested that the franchise be extended to all paying a tax of three yen or more annually, but this increased the number of votes only to 4,000,000. Now the demand is for universal franchise. At the mass meetings held in connection with the campaign prominent men like Yukio Ozaki made speeches, contending that the late Emperor declared that the administration of the State would in future be conducted in accord with public opinion, and the guiding principle of the nation should be equality of all classes. In neither politics nor law have these fundamental principles been enforced in Japan. The country is managed by politicians who owe their power to birth rather than to the votes of the people, while others are in power by virtue of the amount of taxes they are able to pay. Thus wealth and birth take precedence of science and scholarship. The masses are so discontented that their views constantly threaten to find vent in violence. While Japanese delegates at the European Peace Conference are crying out for equality of races and nations, inequality of classes is tolerated, if not imposed, on the Japanese at home. At a time when democracy is claiming

its own everywhere, the stability of the foundations of the State in Japan demands that the franchise be extended to the manhood of the nation. After listening to sentiments of this kind at various meetings the students and other crowds marched to the front gate of the Imperial Palace and cheered for the Imperial House. But, most remarkable of all, the university students then presented a petition to his Majesty asking directly that the franchise be extended, a move unprecedented in Japanese history.

Even women have joined the movement for extension of the franchise in Japan, claiming votes for women. The leader in the female demonstrations has been Mrs. Akiko Yosan, one of the most distinguished of Japan's women writers, whose writings appear in all the leading national periodicals. Mrs. Yosan contends that if women be excluded in the extension of the franchise Japan will be a back number compared with Western countries.

A further indication of quickening democracy in Japan is the change taking place in the attitude of the authorities toward labor unions. Hitherto the organization of such unions has not been permitted, though the police are now asserting that there has never been any law against peaceful organization of labor. But labor unions claim the right to resort to strikes in case justice is denied them, and, as Japanese laws prohibit such demonstrations, organization was regarded as futile. Nevertheless, a feature of labor in Japan during the past few years has been the increasing number of strikes. As these have usually represented local disaffection, in the absence of labor unions, they have been rigorously dealt with, and done little to promote the interests of labor. But the inability to find a voice for its wrongs has forced Japanese labor into riotous strikes, terrorizing the communities affected. The fact that Japanese labor has been permitted to send a representative to the Peace Conference at Versailles may be taken as significant of the new freedom in the direction of democracy.

# Trial and Death of Edith Cavell

## Maitre de Leval Tells the Full Story of the Martryed Englishwoman's End

**M**AITRE GASTON DE LEVAL, for twenty years the legal adviser of the British Legation in Brussels, and also adviser to the American Embassy, told a large audience in Queen's Hall, London, on May 16, 1919, the full story of the trial and death of Edith Cavell. As Brand Whitlock has told the world, no one labored harder than M. de Leval to secure a fair trial for the heroic Englishwoman and to prevent the sentence from being executed. In an eloquent address, which affected his audience deeply, he gave new facts concerning the trial, and mentioned the names of some of the Belgians who helped in the work of getting British and French soldiers out of the country occupied by the Germans.

Viscount Burnham presided over the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Edith Cavell Homes of Rest for Nurses, an institution which fulfills one of Miss Cavell's dearest desires. Lord Burnham, in introducing Maitre de Leval, said he felt that the reason he was asked to preside that afternoon was that, in the journal with which he was associated, they raised the sum of money that was required in order that Sir George Frampton might carry out his generous idea of creating and erecting in the heart of London a monument to the heroic memory of Edith Cavell. As one turned back the pages of universal history, it was strange to find how few were the plain men and women who shed forth the rays, like radium itself, of imperishable glory for the edification of humanity. If they did, it was because they were the highest type of the virtues of their race. They transfigured the finest quality of their age and generation, and in so doing left an indelible impression on the conscience of mankind. Lord Burnham continued:

Edith Cavell was, as you know, a nurse of the London hospital not unlike other

nurses of our great hospitals, although of the finest tempered steel. She had the nurse's trained spirit of devotion to those who suffer. She had the plain woman's simplicity of character, which, under the brutal cross-examination of the German bullies at the court-martial, made her tell the tale quite simply, but with all the pride of England in her answers. She confessed to helping 200 captives. It is true that she convicted herself when she did so, but she would have none of the insolence of the unjust Judge, and she said, and said truly, "that Englishmen are not ungrateful." She went to her death with a fortitude and dignity that will stand as the pattern of the English conduct that is three parts of our national life. Yesterday she had the burial of a queen among women, and the whole people did reverence to the radiance of her self-sacrifice.

Canning once spoke in a great speech of the "pervading soul" of England as an example to the world. In all humility we may ask ourselves whether the "pervading soul" of England ever touched the world to a fairer or more lasting lesson of duty more gloriously illustrated than in the death of this hospital nurse hero—I dislike the difference in termination between the sexes—and martyr in the cause of humanity.

### M. DE LEVAL'S STORY

Maitre de Leval began his address by describing the scenes in Brussels when Nurse Cavell's body was about to be removed to England. Belgium, he said, was in very deep mourning. All the Ministers of State, the Burgomasters of Brussels and the suburbs, most of the leading politicians, Generals of the Belgian Army, and Ambassadors were called together in the morning to the Tir Nationale, where Nurse Cavell had been buried. The whole population lined the streets, and men who had been enslaved by the Germans and had come back impoverished and weak, women who had been suffering under the heels of the Germans, and little children who had been trembling every day for the last four years lest their parents should be

killed, showed in their eyes the great reverence and affection they had for Nurse Cavell.

But in those eyes there was something more. The eyes flashed when they saw the Belgian, British, and American troops marching behind the coffin, for they remembered what those armies had done. When M. de Leval saw the people at stations through which the train passed from Dover, and the peasants saluting in the fields, he realized that in England Nurse Cavell was really a national heroine. He felt that in every British heart there was love for the woman who had done more for the war in dying than many Generals had done in living. London witnessed the funeral which was unequaled in history. The whole life of the city was stopped to see a poor woman, a feeble woman, without any rank, passing to her last abode; the woman the Germans had so despised that they told him: "The smallest German soldier is worth more to us than all your English nurses." The soul of a people on these occasions revealed itself. What was in their hearts was not only veneration for Nurse Cavell; it was a veneration for what she was—a symbol of sacrifice and of duty to the last, and of that Christian spirit which enabled her to say, "I must have no hatred toward any one."

#### SAVING DOOMED SOLDIERS

After recounting the work of Miss Cavell in building up the nursing school founded by Dr. Lepage, Maître de Leval stated that before she was arrested the school was used as a hospital for Belgian soldiers, and later for some German soldiers, and Nurse Cavell looked after them. When the fighting occurred around Mons and Charleroi there were hundreds of English soldiers and a number of French, some of them wounded, left stranded behind the German front. They thought all would be lost, but some Belgian farmers took the soldiers into their barns and hid them. In one barn the Germans found thirteen soldiers, and they shot them all, as well as the man who owned the barn.

The report went around that a number of British soldiers were in hiding, and a

scheme was prepared for their relief. The Prince de Croy—there was no danger in mentioning the name now—lived with his sister in a château near Mons. The Prince was a patriot. He loved England, and was determined to save her soldiers. He got them to him, had them photographed, had false identity papers prepared for them, gave them Flemish names, and some were supposed to be born in towns which did not exist. The identity papers were very clever forgeries. The soldiers were sent to barns, and arrangements were made for them to be conducted over the frontiers of Holland or France. That was a difficult task, for the German armies were everywhere, commandants were stationed in every village, and the railways and tramways were controlled.

Happily three people were found to help. They were Nurse Cavell, M. Severin, and M. Baucq, who organized a system by which the persons sent to Brussels by the Prince of Croy went to the nursing home and stayed there, sometimes for as long as fourteen days, although the place was surrounded by German spies and sentries, till the moment arrived when they could be taken over the frontier. Severin and Baucq found men to guide them, the best of the guides being a man named Gilles, who gave his life. He did his duty. He took the soldiers dressed as peasants from Brussels, and, marching only at night, got them to the Dutch frontier, where they were free.

#### ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED

There were two other women who assisted in the work—the Countess de Belleville and Mlle. Thuliez, both of them were also sentenced to death. Then a man, some said he was French, others that he was a Pole, went to the nursing home to help as a gardener. He spied, and certain people were shadowed, and on Aug. 5 thirty-seven of them were arrested. The Prince de Croy escaped, but the others were put in jail, Nurse Cavell among them. She told the truth. She had no one near her to tell her what to say. She had done a thing which seemed to her so simple—she had saved

those soldiers from death. Was not that her usual task? She simply did the thing from humanity, and did not dream of any political end. She never gave away what others did. When asked by her accusers what she had done she admitted she had helped 200 soldiers to cross the frontier. They asked, "But why?" She replied, "Two English soldiers came first. One was a Colonel, and both were wounded. If I had given these men over to you you would have shot them."

At the American Legation they heard of the arrests, and inquired the reasons from the German authorities. The Minister wrote to Baron von Lancken: "We hear you have arrested Nurse Cavell. Why have you arrested her? We want M. Leval to see her to organize her defense." The Germans did not reply; they had to remind them, and the reply then came that the arrests had been made for helping English and French soldiers to cross the frontier, and that there was no need for M. Leval to see her, for, according to the rules of German military courts, no one was allowed to see a political prisoner in Brussels before judgment was passed. Besides, there was a lawyer already appointed to defend her, Mr. Brown. Mr. Brown went to the Legation to see him, (M. Leval,) and it would have been his greatest pleasure to defend Miss Cavell, but as soon as he took the case in hand it was found he could not plead before the German military courts, and he handed over his brief to another lawyer. This was Mr. Kirscher. He saw him, and was told the case against Nurse Cavell was not very grave; that in similar cases persons had been sentenced to four or five years' imprisonment, and that it was not a serious matter, because if the American Government made an appeal for her she would be sure to receive the benefit of it.

#### THE TRIAL

M. de Leval continued as follows:

I told Mr. Kirscher, the Minister, that I would like to be present at the trial. Kirscher said, "No, don't do that, because if you appear in court the Germans will think you want to exercise a sort of supervision at the trial, and you will hurt

the case of the poor nurse." I consulted the Minister, and decided that the defense should be left to Mr. Kirscher, who pleaded well for her. We received a note from the lawyer informing the Legation that the trial would take place on Oct. 7 and 8, and a reply was sent that, "as has been arranged with Leval, we rely on you to inform us what is going to happen at the trial, and to let us know what is the defense and what is the sentence." We did not receive a reply. Hearing nothing, we thought the case had been postponed. On Saturday afternoon there was a rumor that Nurse Cavell was going to be sentenced to death. You can imagine what our feelings were; we could not believe it. We tried to find some people who were present at the trial, and on Sunday I saw Mr. Dorff and asked what had happened. Mr. Dorff replied that he could not tell anything as the trials were in camera, and he did not like to give anything away. I said, "You cannot talk like that when the life of a woman is in danger," and then he told me the whole story of the trial, which I repeat to you now.

Nurse Cavell and the thirty-six other accused people appeared on Oct. 7 before the German military court, which held its first sitting in the Senate of Belgium, and next day sat in the Parliament. The judges were at a large table, and four lawyers were near the judges. Nurse Cavell was the first to be cross-examined. She was asked what she had done. She always gave candid answers. "Yes, I helped these soldiers to escape. I did not think I was doing any harm; I wanted to save them from death, and I did it for 200 soldiers." The other persons were also questioned, and I must say answered with equal courage. What we did not know then, because every one seemed to be afraid to give the enemy away, but what we know now is this: As a rule the public prosecutor in these military courts was a jurist who knew the law. In private life he was very often a Judge, and he had a judicial mentality. He was not inclined to believe that everything was bad, and had some indulgence for the weakness of people. But in this case the Germans for the first time called in a man for whom we cannot have too much hatred. He was a person called Stoeber. He was very elegant, had a waxed mustache, and was finely dressed in a gray coat. He had lost a son in the war and was furious with the English because his son was killed on the English front. He bullied Nurse Cavell in a most horrible way. He told her she lied, and treated her like a slave, and asked that the death sentence should be passed on her. This all-powerful Stoeber bullied the lawyer for the defense for

using a word which was not good German, and the defense was a mockery of a defense. It was not a serious defense.

#### AN ILLEGAL CONVICTION

What was the plea on which Nurse Cavell was convicted? It was based on the code which allowed sentence of death on persons who conducted soldiers to the enemy. That could not apply in the case of Nurse Cavell, and no other court in the world would have convicted her. She just harbored the men and was only an accomplice, and therefore could not have been sentenced for guiding any men to the frontier. These men were got from Belgium to Holland, which was a neutral country, and was not an enemy. I discussed this matter with ex-President Roosevelt, and when I came to the technicality he said, "Well, I don't care about these German laws. I want to know have the laws of humanity been respected or have they not?"

The Germans have branded themselves with their own error. The very proof that they had no right to sentence Nurse Cavell to death is in the fact that on the day she was shot the Germans made a new law which punished with the death sentence those who did precisely what Nurse Cavell had been doing. If Nurse Cavell had been convicted rightly there was no need for a new law. Two days' sitting in court being ended, Nurse Cavell was taken to prison with Severin. I saw Severin three days ago, and he repeated the conversation he had with Nurse Cavell. He told her he did not believe they would be sentenced to death, and that they would not receive more than four or five years' imprisonment. He was an optimist; Nurse Cavell was not. You have seen her letter written the next day, "It is a sad thing to say, 'Farewell.'"

Maitre de Leval next described how he and others tried to ascertain when sentence was to be passed. They knew nothing, and could find out nothing till Sunday afternoon. Mr. Dorff told him he did not think Nurse Cavell would be sentenced to death, but added, "Of course it is a possibility." Next morning at 8:30 he went round to German Headquarters and saw Mr. Conrad, Secretary to Baron von Lancken. He told Conrad he heard the case was finished, that judgment would be pronounced soon, and that he wanted to see Miss Cavell. Conrad said there was no judgment, and promised to keep the Legation informed. At about 11 o'clock he began to get nervous. He felt that some impending injustice was about to fall on

their heads, and he must try to prevent it. He telephoned to headquarters, Mr. Gibson of the Legation sitting beside him. He asked if judgment had been pronounced, and got the reply: "No, Leval, there is no judgment; probably tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, but we will let you know immediately there is judgment." He thought that was the truth, but he was so concerned that he thought it prudent to be ready for the worst, and he prepared a plea for pardon, addressed to von Lancken and the Governor, von Bissing, to be presented if sentence of death was passed. At 5:30 P. M., having received no more news, Mr. Gibson asked one of the clerks to telephone again, and for the third time the Germans replied: "There is no judgment; probably tomorrow, but we will let you know as soon as there is judgment." M. de Leval continued as follows:

#### "THEY WANT MY LIFE"

At the time we were telephoning there was a terrible scene in the prison. We know that from a man who was sentenced with Nurse Cavell, and who had been giving funds to the nurse to help send the soldiers to the frontier. Mr. Ostelet has written his story, and he says about 4 o'clock they were all in their cells, when suddenly he heard the noise of cell doors being opened. He thought their last day had come, and went out in the corridor, where he met all those who had been in the case. There were Severin, Baucq, and Nurse Cavell. She was standing, pale but erect. They talked about a light they had seen in the cells, and one of them said it was because a man who had been sentenced had hanged himself. A door entering upon the corridor then opened, and this Stoeber, elegant as ever, smiling, almost happy, came in with a secretary and the Governor of the prison, and pulled out a large sheet of paper and read names. Five times he said, "Death sentence." It was death sentence for Nurse Cavell, Severin, Baucq, Mlle. Thuliez, and the Countess of Belleville. Miss Cavell was impassive. She was leaning against the wall and was pale. Ostelet says: "I went near her, and said, 'How I pity you. I advise you to make a plea for pardon,' and Nurse Cavell, guessing why she was sentenced and was going to be shot, replied, with a smile, 'No. I am English—they want my life.'"

At 7:30 I was in my office writing a report to the Minister, when two English nurses came in, one of whom was

Miss Wilkinson, who is on the platform. She said, "Mr. Leval, I know that at 4 o'clock judgment was read in prison to Nurse Cavell. She is sentenced to death, and she is going to be shot at 2 o'clock in the morning." I told her it was unbelievable, as the Germans had told me three times that day there was no judgment. Miss Wilkinson said she was sure Nurse Cavell was going to be shot that night. I went off with the nurses to confer with the Minister. Mr. Whitlock, who had taken the case seriously to heart, was unfortunately ill and could not leave his house. He, too, would not believe the news, but we did not take any chances, and he asked the secretary to bring up the two pleas for pardon. Mr. Whitlock signed them, and on one he wrote: "My Dear Baron. Have pity on the poor woman. She is a woman, after all. You cannot shoot a woman like that." He gave instructions that Gibson and I should find Villalobar, the Spanish Minister, and that the three of us should go to German headquarters to fight our last fight for Nurse Cavell. Villalobar was dining out, but we found him, and he said he would come with us at once.

#### GERMAN OFFICIALS OBDURATE

We went to headquarters, but nobody knew where Lancken was, and it was only after insisting very determinedly that we were told he was at a not very reputable theatre listening to a gay play. The right moment, wasn't it? We sent in a card, and Lancken said he would come out when the play was over.

The time was passing. We looked at our watches, for we thought we might have to telegraph to the Kaiser. At half-past 10 von Lancken turned up. I shall never forget his entrance into the room. He is a fine, tall German officer, with the Iron Cross on his breast. He said, "What is the matter that you should disturb me at this hour of the night?" We said it was a very serious matter. "What is it?" he asked, and I said, "I have found out that Nurse Cavell has been sentenced to death and is going to be shot tonight." He answered, "What nonsense; who told you that?" I said I could not tell him who gave the information; after all, it was hearsay. With that Lancken replied, "You come to disturb me about hearsay!" "It is true or it is not true. If it is true, it is our duty and our right to be here. If it is not true, I take the consequences." Lancken answered, "It is not true; we do not shoot women like that." He was trying to pooh-pooh us. We told Lancken we wanted to know at once, and he said it was 11 o'clock and von Bissing was sleeping, and how could he wake him? I told him he could telephone, and he went away to do so. On his return his

face was changed, and he said, "You are right. She is sentenced to death, and is going to be shot."

We did all we could. We appealed to his feelings and to his reason. This poor woman was a nurse, her life had been devoted to people passing through life to death—think of what the world would say, and there might be reprisals. If she had been a spy we would not be there, but they had never accused her of being a spy. Lancken said, "Well, have you a plea for pardon?" I replied, "Yes, here it is," and handed Mr. Whitlock's letter. Lancken said, "That is all very well, but you had better prepare a pardon addressed to the Governor. I told him I had one, and gave it to him. He read it through with a sarcastic smile, and said, "I can do nothing. I can only be a postal box to see to this. This sentence depends not only on von Bissing, but on von Sauberzweig." They must remember those two names—Stoeber and von Sauberzweig. He went off to see von Sauberzweig, and came back at midnight, saying, "There's nothing to be done. Von Sauberzweig refuses to accept this plea for pardon. No one can help you, not even the Kaiser."

Villalobar had not said a word, but when he saw everything was lost the Spanish blood within him began to boil. He is a lame man, with two wooden legs. He got up and took Lancken by the coat and said he wanted to speak to him. We heard him tell the Baron they were going to have a second Louvain in shooting this woman, and that it was not only a crime but a stupidity, because thousands of British soldiers would be raised to avenge her. Lancken could not be moved, and we left headquarters.

#### THE EXECUTION

Next morning at 7 o'clock Nurse Cavell was brought in a gray motor car with Baucq, the Belgian, who would probably not have been shot except that it would not be decent to shoot only one Englishman. There must be a Belgian as well. Both were marched near the place where there are platoon ranges. There was a chair. Nurse Cavell had to sit on it. They bound her eyes, and twelve soldiers shot her dead. Some people said she fainted. Oh, those who said that did not know Nurse Cavell. She was not a woman to faint. Five minutes before dying she wrote these lines on her Prayer Book, which she gave to the German priest, who handed them to a friend of hers: "Arrested Aug. 5, sentenced to death Oct. 11, died Oct. 12, 7 in the morning. With love—My Mother."

In this funeral ceremony at Westminster there were some people missing. I never more regretted that power was a limited

thing, and that I had not the power to do what I wished. I would have brought Stoeber there, I would have brought von Sauberzweig, and I would have brought the Kaiser. I would have made them kneel down on those stones on which English soldiers were marching, carrying the body of Nurse Cavell. But justice will come. If it was for me to decide, they would be shot; but Nurse Cavell was such an admirable woman, better than we are who say they should be shot, because she said: "We must have hatred for nobody." In history there is no other example of such an admirable woman; never

will we be able to think enough of her courage and her virtues.

The address of Maitre de Leval was followed by the presentation by France of the Legion of Honor to the family of Miss Cavell, an act by which the French Republic showed its admiration for a noble woman. The high decoration was conferred by the Comte André d'Ormesson, from the French Embassy. Mrs. Wainwright, Miss Cavell's sister, received it, and Dr. Wainwright expressed the thanks of the family for the tribute.

## Britain's Tribute to Miss Cavell

By PHILIP GIBBS

*On May 15, 1919, Britain paid tribute to one of its greatest daughters, Miss Edith Cavell, the martyred nurse, who, after an impressive service at Westminster Abbey, was buried in her native city of Norwich. Her last journey over English soil was marked by scenes of profound mourning. School children paid homage to her with wild flowers at wayside stations, and the King was represented at the great Abbey service. East End residents flew modest Union Jacks at half-mast, and Queen Alexandra sent a touching message with a wreath. Philip Gibbs of the London Chronicle's staff wrote the following description of the service:*

IT was the beauty of the courage of a woman's soul that passed through London on May 15 and stayed a little while with prayer and music in the Abbey, when the body of Nurse Cavell received the salute of the silent crowds. The heart of London, so restless, so noisy, with its tide of traffic surging through the glare of sunshine, was touched by the spiritual meaning of that flag-covered coffin which held a woman's dust; and the millions who were in the streets stood at attention, with bared or bowed heads, thinking back a moment to the tragedy and valor of this lady's death.

They were glad—I heard them say so in the crowds—that there was sunshine for her last journey. She had so loved England that it was good now that her homecoming should be in such fine May weather, when England was as fresh and lovely as she had thought of it out there in Brussels, in her loneliness, amidst the reek and agony of war. The sunshine and this beauty were for the spiritual

remembrance of one of England's nursing sisterhood, who had laid down her life, ungrudgingly, and took the risk of death, with full knowledge of her peril, because of the love in her heart for suffering humanity. Before dying, by that brick wall outside the prison of St. Gilles, in Brussels, she wished all her friends to know that she gave her life willingly for her country.

"I have no fear nor shrinking," she said. "I have seen death so often that it is not strange or fearful to me."

These words, or the spirit of them, were remembered, I am sure, by many people in the crowds outside Victoria Station and along the way to Westminster, where they were deeply massed, when the gun carriage bearing Nurse Cavell's coffin passed slowly by to the Abbey behind a detachment of Coldstream Guards, with their band playing the pitiful—and joyous—melody of Chopin's "Funeral March."

Those words of hers, spoken before her hurried execution, to the Chaplain who

stayed in her prison cell have been repeated in the hearts of many other women who were of her profession, and who in the crowds of London remembered how they were of comfort to them, in hospitals behind the western front, and other fronts, where day after day they tended a tide of wounded, and watched death's harvesting, and risked their own lives, but did not flinch, when air raids or epidemics took toll of women as well as men.

"When fear creeps a little into my heart," said one of these nurses to me, "I think of Miss Cavell, and that gives me courage again." Yesterday there were thousands of nurses in the crowds—the flag was at half-mast above a group of them outside Westmister Hospital—and in the Abbey there were mostly women in nurses' uniforms of every kind and branch of service, who had come to pay homage to one of their heroines.

Perhaps it was their salute which was most pleasing to the spirit of Miss Cavell if her spirit hovered above that flag-draped coffin—God knows—for these women knew with her the meaning of the wards in wartime. They had seen, as she saw, the tide of mangled flesh that poured into them, the bloody sacrifice of youth, the piling up of human agony. They had heard, as she did, the awful snuffle of unconscious men, and the sharp cries of boys in pain, and the quiet moaning of men who are not glad to die.

They had toiled, as she did, to relieve all this sum of pain, until their own bodies ached, and all their nerves were plucked and jangled, though they kept brave faces and never wept—for what was the use of tears? \* \* \*

Those nursing sisters in the Abbey and in the crowds would understand more closely, perhaps, than most others the secret which gave Nurse Cavell so much courage when her enemies entrapped her—that scorn of death of which she had seen so much, and the gladness of her service for suffering men.

But in the crowds also there were men who lifted their hats, or stood to the salute, as her dust passed, with understanding in their souls, and gratitude for

what this lady had done and tried to do. They had been prisoners in Germany. They had known the agony of long ill-nourishment, of forced labor with weak bodies, under brutal guards. They had made desperate efforts to escape. Some of them, by the help of women like Nurse Cavell, by the organized system which that lady had helped to form had—escaped!

They were nearly all women engaged in this work. I met a number of them in Ghent and Liége and Namur and other towns—English governesses who had been caught up in the tide of war, French and Belgian ladies whose hearts ached at the sufferings of our prisoners. They were links in a chain which reached right through Belgium, and through Brussels, where Miss Cavell had been in touch with them.

They took frightful risks and knew the penalty of discovery. But I met women who had worked in this way all through the war, who had been imprisoned in foul cells on suspicion, and had been let out, for lack of evidence, and had gone on again, with enduring courage, smuggling food to the prisoners, getting letters across the lines, hiding runaways, helping them to escape.

In Ghent after its capture from the enemy I met three men singing "Tipperary" with the dancing crowds. "You're English," I said, and one of them said "I'm a Scot," and the other said "I'm Irish," and the third said "I'm London born and bred." They had been hiding in Ghent for a month when it was swarming with Germans, and they owed their escape and hiding place to a group of ladies whom afterward I met, and who had risked Nurse Cavell's fate, doing the same work.

Miss Cavell gave her reasons for her acts to the judges who sat around her, staring grimly at the spiritual face of that lady, who gave quiet answers confessing her guilt with terrible candor—her guilt against German military law. When she was asked why she helped the soldiers to go to England, she answered that she thought, if she had not done so, they would have been shot by the Germans, and that, therefore, she thought

she only did her duty to her country in saving their lives.

She admitted all the charges against her. Often she helped her prosecutors by detailed statements on points that had not occurred to them. She made no concealment, and was glad to confess what she had done for young men caught whole and living in the trap of war, as others had been caught and mangled in the wards where she tended them—Germans as well as British.

I think all soldiers who saluted her poor dust acknowledged their debt to her as one of the women who in this war were a spiritual power behind the fighting lines, and whose faith and courage in those ruined towns and villages out in France and Flanders, even in little English homes far from the sound of guns, was greater sometimes than that of the soldiers—and whose agony of soul was not less.

I am glad I saw the scene in Westminster Abbey because I think it had a message, beyond even that of woman's courage, to all those women there. I glanced down those long lines of British womanhood on each side of the nave to the transept and the choir. Shafts of light struck slantwise through the clerestory windows between the tall old pillars of that Abbey church where for 700 years the prayers of English people have gone up in thanksgiving or in sadness as our history has played out its drama.

There were Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian nurses, as well as those of our own isles. They waited with devout patience for the coming of Edith Cavell, rising once when Queen Alexandra came, with Princess Victoria, and greeted them all—her nurses—with a grave smile. The Earl of Athlone was there representing the King. The band of the Grenadier Guards played Sullivan's "In Memoriam," and then, just as we heard other music far away through the open doors, Massenet's "Last Sleep of the Virgin." It was as though a Princess was coming to her bridal when the Abbey clergy in their robes went out into the sunlight through the west door to greet the lady who was coming.

The choristers streamed after them to begin a song of greeting. Through the open door came the sound of tramping feet and of carriage wheels, and the loud music of Chopin's song of sadness and gladness. A loud voice called out an order: "Rest on your arms—reversed!" The choristers turned back again and led the way up the long nave, and after the clergy came the coffin of Edith Cavell, wrapped in her country's flag, borne upon the shoulders of Coldstream Guards.

There were flowers above the flag, and the sunlight followed them as far as the choir. On each side of the nave the women had risen, standing like soldiers, shoulder to shoulder. The choir sang the psalm:

The Lord is my Shepherd; therefore I can lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.

Yea, though I walk through the Valley of Death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me.

While that psalm was being sung, and the prayers were being said, I thought of some other words spoken by Nurse Cavell before the brutal bullet found its target in her flesh. These words were her real message to the world:

*This I would say, standing as I do in view of God and eternity: I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness toward any one.*

Her life as a nurse in Brussels had been dedicated to love, not to hatred. She had tended German soldiers with as much devotion as British soldiers, seeing in them the same need of pity, seeing them as the same victims of that hatred which had caught the world in its madness. And in the hour before her death she did not utter words of hatred against the enemy who had condemned her, nor desire vengeance on German boyhood because of the crimes of their war lords.

She looked back on the scene of agony she had seen, in which all the world was involved, and on the frightful passions that had been unleashed in the hearts of peoples, and her spirit passed beyond operations and the narrow limits of patriotism, and embraced all human life in its pity. "I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitter-

ness toward any one"—a hard saying—a Christlike message to the world which is still worshipping a cult of hatred, making new breeding grounds of hate, cherishing its heritage. Yet that was the message which in Westminster Abbey the spirit of Nurse Cavell spoke to her sisters.

It was at the end of the service that all true women rose to sing the hymn which Nurse Cavell sang very softly in her prison cell before going out to be shot:

Abide with me; fast falls the eventide;  
The darkness deepens, Lord, with me  
abide;  
When other helpers fail, and comforts  
flee,  
Help of the helpless, O, abide with me.

To the music of the Dead March in "Saul" the coffin was borne out of the

abbey again, and placed on the gun carriage, and, with guards pacing slowly ahead and music leading on, the dust of a gentle lady was carried through vast crowds standing bare-headed again, along the Thames, and so past the Mansion House, through the city, to Liverpool Street Station, where a special train for Norwich was waiting.

There were not many tears shed. I saw no weeping eyes. But people stared through the glamour of sun at the bright colors of the coffin, and thought sadly of one great crime of war among many crimes, of one tragedy to womanhood among many tragedies, and of the spirit which is stronger than the flesh and counts for victory.

## Condemned to Death by the Germans

### Narrative of Louise Thuliez, a Companion of Miss Cavell in Dangerous Rescue Work

THE announcement from Paris that Mlle. Louise Thuliez had received the Cross of the Legion of Honor as well as the War Cross from the hands of M. Clemenceau, the greatest honor that a Frenchwoman could receive, recalled one of the most dramatic stories to which the European war, and especially the German invasion of France, gave rise. For Mlle. Thuliez was a companion and helper of Edith Cavell in her heroic efforts to conceal, feed, and care for the wounded soldiers left behind the front; regardless of danger she worked for weeks to hide and effect the escape of some 250 French, Belgian, and English soldiers from the ruthless clutches of the German invaders. Caught at last, she was condemned to death, together with Edith Cavell and others of the small and patriotic band; reprieved, after Miss Cavell's execution, she was again condemned to death, this time for espionage, and yet again reprieved, this time through the intervention of the King of Spain; finally she was sent to Germany, where she was confined for many months in the prison of Siegburg; released by the revolution

in Cologne, she made her way home at last, after four years of imprisonment, to receive the highest honor which France could give for her patriotic devotion and in recompense for all the sufferings she had undergone at German hands *pour la patrie*.

From the full narrative of her adventures, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the following account is translated:

On Aug. 23, 1914, English, Scotch, and Irish as they retreated went through the smiling village of Saint-Waast-la-Vallée, (North.) The wail of the pibrochs added to the sadness of the retreat. The Belgian peasants, deserting their burning villages, fled toward France, dragging behind them their cattle and carts crowded pitifully with women, children, old men, sick people lying on straw; these refugees were interspersed with dusty, tired soldiers. The procession lasted all day long; the inhabitants of the village fled also, terror-stricken by the announcement that the enemy was approaching, and because they had been told of the horrors committed in the invaded villages.

#### WOUNDED MEN IN PERIL

An English regiment arrived from the front at night; its ambulances were filled with wounded. In the morning only

sixty were left in the town out of eight hundred; ambulances from the neighboring town took away all the wounded except six, intrusted to the charge of Mlle. Thuliez and other devoted persons.

Toward 9 o'clock in the morning a silence of death reigned over the village. Airplanes were flying above; shrapnel was falling. We transported our wounded to a friendly house, the home of Mlle. Henriette Moriamé, one of the heroines of the following story; we dressed their wounds. It was time—the Germans were arriving. It was noon. On horseback, pistol or lance in hand, they advanced silently. Trembling, they ventured into this deserted village, looking to the right and left, ready to fire on any one who appeared; filled only with the fear of a surprise, they scarcely bore the air of conquerors. The scene changed when the vanguard had gone through the village. The terrifying silence of the arrival was followed by loud cries; the windows of the houses whose absent owners could not answer the blows upon the doors were smashed to pieces. Soon one saw horses and wagons piled high with bottles, linen and the most heterogeneous articles. The first soldiers gnawed raw turnips; those who followed drank wine from the bottles. In the empty houses the soldiers sacked the pantries, making sickening dishes in their mixture and profusion; what they could not consume on the spot they carried away or trampled under foot.

The Germans entered my friend's house and found our six wounded. With a violent gesture, an officer pulled the cover off the first, whose wound was only too visible; then he proceeded to a detailed cross-questioning, accompanied by threats, about the battle of the day before, the names of the officers, the numbers of the regiments, the road taken by the refugees. The whole afternoon the invaders came to sneer at the bedside of our patients. They felt themselves now the masters and thought only of imposing respect by terror. As I was going into my friend's house, an officer of high rank stopped me, revolver in hand, and asked me how many wounded we had. I answered, "Six." "Tell the truth," he insisted, "or you will be shot."

Until midnight, there came a procession of troops, wagons, horsemen, accompanied by cries and howls, for all, officers and soldiers, were drunk. Between the horses we saw sometimes poor peasants tied with cords and exposed every instant to the danger of being trampled on and crushed. They were hostages, undoubtedly, seized in the villages traversed. What became of them? We never knew.

#### CONCEALING THE WOUNDED

The flag of the Red Cross was hoisted over the house. At the end of October, 1914, the Germans posted up a notice in every village that all French or allied soldiers who had remained behind the lines must be declared at the Mayor's office. The most severe punishments were decreed against all communes or individuals not conforming to this edict. "Resolved not to declare our wounded," said Mlle. Thuliez, "we had no alternative but to conceal them." A safe place was found eight kilometers away, where the sick soldiers were secretly transported; and so the heroic French girl's "treason" to the Germans was begun. Difficult and dangerous was the undertaking. Mlle. Thuliez writes:

Those who have not suffered from the German occupation cannot imagine the difficulties experienced by those who hid allied or French soldiers. There were continual searches, the constant fear of denunciation. Food had to be provided without arousing suspicion; all were carefully counted and individual rations were barely sufficient. Moreover, as soon as a detachment of troops was reported, the hidden men had to be moved and other places of shelter found for them for the time being. It was absolutely necessary to get our protégés to the front. I learned that numerous English and French soldiers were also in hiding, at Maroilles and thereabout. The only means of escape was the passage through the Dutch frontier. The Princess of Croy placed her château of Bellignies at our disposition as a stopping place for our soldiers. But soon the difficulty of securing passports, which varied from village to village, and our too frequent expeditions by day, which finally attracted attention in the villages through which we went, led us to the decision to move about only at night.

#### MILLE. THULIEZ ARRESTED

Many dangers were incurred, many hairbreadth escapes. The Germans suspected what was going on. Every three months new notices were posted up commanding the immediate declaration of all allied and French soldiers remaining behind the lines. The most severe penalties were provided for those who concealed them, fed them, or merely failed to denounce them. Disobeyers were threatened with death; in more than one Kommandantur threats of hanging were

issued. Little by little, the net closed around the subterranean workers. The German surveillance was intensified; Miss Cavell was watched, and Mlle. Thuliez at last arrested. She describes the manner of her arrest as follows:

On my second return from Cambrai, I was told that metallurgical workmen from the region of Mauberge were ready to leave. I appointed a meeting place at Bruxelles, and left in the hope of finding them guides. Miss Cavell having sent me word not to come to her neighborhood, on account of the surveillance exercised around her house, I went to M. Baucq, a Brussels architect, one of her collaborators. [He was later executed, together with Miss Cavell.] Through him numerous Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians, and Russians had passed the frontier. It was July 31. As I could no longer stop at my usual boarding house in the Rue de la Culture, near Miss Cavell's home, M. Baucq offered me hospitality for the following night. In the afternoon I visited some of the hotels that sheltered our soldiers and young men, and in one of them I paid, toward 9 o'clock in the evening, a bill of 56 francs bearing the statement "for lodging of six men for four days." [Later this bill, thus inscribed, was used by the Germans as an incriminating document against Mlle. Thuliez.] At the Gare du Midi I waited in vain for the metal workers, and at 10:30 o'clock I arrived at the house of M. Baucq. I noticed nothing unusual around his house. He and his family were putting away 2,000 copies of *La Libre Belgique* which had just arrived. We talked until 11 o'clock. Mme. Baucq showed me to my room, while M. Baucq went down to put his dog out. He had scarcely opened his door when we heard cries mingled with the barking of the dog; at the same time, German policemen rushed up the stairs.

I still had my hat on. They seized my handbag, which I sought vainly to hide. They then began to search the house, assembled its inhabitants, and inquired if I was the lady who had entered a half hour before. When I admitted this, they asked my name; I was foolish enough to give them one of my false names, immediately contradicted by my identification card, which bore a false address but my real name. As I could not give them my Brussels address, they put me in a room under guard, and continued their search. Toward 1:30 in the morning they sent for an auto, and M. Baucq and I were brought to the lair of their secret police in *Loi Street*.

Brought to *Gilles Prison* at 3 o'clock in the morning, Aug. 1, 1915, after a pre-

liminary examination, Mlle. Thuliez was imprisoned there until Oct. 7, undergoing frequent and tormenting examinations. During the week of her arrest Miss Cavell was also arrested; then M. Cappiau, then all the group of Borinage, including the Countess of Belleville. Her chief inquisitor was one Heinrich Pinkhof, who had been chief of espionage in Paris, who knew France well and spoke French faultlessly; his assistant, Bergan, (decorated with the iron cross after the death of Miss Cavell,) spoke French badly. The depositions of the prisoners were made in French and translated into German; they were then made to sign the German version, although the text was altered; the signing of this German translation was, said Mlle. Thuliez, a great mistake, and it subsequently turned against them. Confronted with each other and played against one another, the prisoners, with the documentary evidence found on their persons, were soon entangled beyond recall. On the 7th of October their case was tried, and six days later five of them—Philippe Baucq, Louise Thuliez, Edith Cavell, Louis Severin, and the Countess of Belleville—were all condemned to death. The condemnation is thus described:

At 4 o'clock, Monday, Oct. 11, my door opened suddenly and a policeman announced: "Prepare yourself; your sentences are to be read to you." A quarter of an hour later all thirty-five of us were assembled in the Assembly Hall of St. Gilles, where we found the Military Auditor, Stoeber; his interpreter, the military Chaplain, and some officers of high rank. I was between Miss Cavell and the Countess of Belleville. The Military Auditor first of all read the condemnation in German; we did not understand a word. With the brutality characteristic of the Teutonic race the interpreter reproduced this document in French, dwelling deliberately on the word *death*, which he repeated immediately after each name.

Philippe Baucq, *death*.  
Louise Thuliez, *death*.

I was prepared for this outcome; I thought immediately of my dead father and mother, whom at last I should see again. I am a Catholic. The thought of seeing my parents again took away all bitterness from approaching death, and it was only several minutes later that I thought of those who remained and who would grieve for me. But I did not dwell

upon the thought of my fate, and I had sufficient self-control to hear the verdict to the end.

Miss Cavell, *death*.

Louis Severin, *death*.

Countess de Belleville, *death*.

Miss Cavell and the Countess de Belleville heard their condemnation with the same calm. When the verdict had been pronounced, M. Baucq tried to speak. "It is useless," they told him; "there is nothing to be done now, it is too late." They took him away. I then asked Miss Cavell if she would not make a petition for pardon. "No," she answered, "there is nothing to be done; I am an Englishwoman." She thus gave me to understand her conviction that she was dying for the English cause and as a victim of the hatred of the Germans for England. A German officer of high rank approached her, said a few words to her and took her away. We were destined never to see her again.

#### MISS CAVELL SHOT

A petition to have Miss Cavell share the same cell with Mlle. Thuliez and the Countess de Belleville was refused that night. The next morning a similar request to have Miss Cavell accompany the two in their morning exercise in the enclosure set aside for this purpose was also refused. The guard hesitated oddly as he replied, "She is at the Kommandantur." Mlle. Thuliez says, "His hesitation was a revelation to me; I understood that our heroic and unhappy companion had been shot." On the 13th the military Chaplain told them that Miss Cavell had been shot on the morning of the 12th. They tried vainly to get details, but all he would tell them was that she had died with great courage. Meanwhile death remained suspended over the heads of the others. The Chaplain had promised to notify them, in case of execution, the night before. There were hopes of commutation. The sister of Mlle. Thuliez, having arrived at Brussels the 12th, (the day of the execution of Miss Cavell,) was horrified to see on the walls the official announcement of the condemnations of death of the persons already indicated, as well as the condemnations of others to forced labor for a long number of years. This official document read as follows:

By judgment of Oct. 9, 1915, the military tribunal decreed the following condemnations for treason committed during

the state of war (the passing of recruits to the enemy):

1. Phillippe Baucq, architect at Brussels—to penalty of death.

2. Louise Thuliez, teacher at Lille—to penalty of death.

3. Edith Cavell, directress of a medical institute at Bruxelles—to penalty of death.

4. Louis Severin, pharmacist at Brussels—to penalty of death,

5. Countess Jeanne de Belleville, at Montignies—to penalty of death.

6. Herman Cappiau, engineer at Wasmes—to fifteen years of forced labor.

7. Mme. Ada Bodart, at Brussels—to fifteen years of forced labor.

8. Albert Liblez, lawyer, at Wasmes—to fifteen years of forced labor.

9. Georges Derveau, pharmacist at Paturages—to fifteen years of forced labor.

10. Princess Marie de Croy, at Bellignies—to ten years of forced labor.

Seventeen others were condemned to penalties of forced labor or imprisonment ranging from two to eight years. Eight other persons accused of treason committed during the state of war were acquitted.

The Judgment decreed against Baucq and Cavell has been already executed.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT.  
Brussels, Oct. 12, 1915.

#### SAVED BY KING ALFONSO

In despair, the sister of Mlle. Thuliez hurried to the Kommandantur and asked permission to see her. This was refused. She then went to the Marquis de Villalobar, charged in Belgium with the interests of French subjects. The name of Mlle. Thuliez had not been reported to him; at the Kommandantur they insisted that she was a Belgian and not a French woman. Her papers, however, proved her French citizenship. The Marquis at once telegraphed to the King of Spain. No reply having come by 5 o'clock in the afternoon, he went to the Kommandantur to request a delay of execution. They replied that the women would be shot next day, that all was ready. At half-past 8 in the evening the telegram from the King of Spain arrived. The Germans, not daring to refuse his formal request, granted delay and sent all the documents in the case to the Kaiser. The King of Spain and His Holiness the Pope did not cease their efforts on behalf of the condemned women. On Nov. 8 (the date of execution had been set for Oct. 13) a decree

was issued and published in *La Belgique* on the 12th. It read as follows:

Official Communications, (Belgium,  
Nov. 9, 1915.)

German Communiqués.  
Brussels, November 8.

Using his right of grace, his Majesty the Emperor has deigned to commute to forced labor in perpetuity the penalty of death pronounced last Oct. 8 by the War Council against the following persons:

Mlle. Louise Thuliez, teacher.  
M. Louis Severin, pharmacist.  
Countess Jeanne de Belleville.

Mlle. Thuliez, the Countess, and Severin were brought to the Kommandantur on the 12th and signed their commutation. The last two were informed of the place of their internment in Germany. But Mlle. Thuliez was retained to undergo another trial for espionage. During her trip to Cambrai she had picked up "an interesting detail" concerning a munitions depot between Douai and Cambrai. Convicted of espionage, she was sent to the military barracks at Cambrai. On Dec. 20 occurred the trial. Mlle. Thuliez remained three days in suspense, expecting from day to day to be taken out and shot, though, following her usual custom, she had asked to receive previous notification. On the 20th she was told that she would again benefit by the imperial clemency, and that her former sentence of forced labor for life would stand. On Jan. 5 she was sent under guard to Brussels; the soldier who accompanied her had orders to shoot if she attempted to escape. She remained in Brussels until Jan. 26. She was then sent to Germany.

#### IN A GERMAN PRISON

There is not space here to go into the details of her suffering in the German prison of Siegburg. Bad food, iron discipline, German pitilessness, heavy labor far beyond the strength of women, leading to sickness and death among the women prisoners, many of them persons of distinction, were the order of the day. All through the years 1916, 1917, 1918 she remained there, suffering especially from hunger. On Nov. 9, 1918, she and her fellow-prisoners were suddenly re-

leased. Mlle. Thuliez describes the liberation as follows:

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon I heard a great outcry in the hall of the prison. As I was given bookkeeping to do, and as on that account my door was open, I went out, thinking that one of my companions had lost her mind, a thing of no infrequent occurrence. Great was my surprise to see a prisoner, followed by several soldiers, all brandishing keys before my eyes. They cried: "Ladies, dress yourselves; we are now in a republic; you are free!" Then they began to open all the doors of the cells, repeating to the bewildered prisoners: "Dress yourselves quickly; you have a train for Cologne at 6 o'clock.

The 600 prisoners passed through a large crowd before the prison, which stood aside to let them pass. At Cologne all the soldiers were disarmed on entering the station; all officers had their insignia and decorations removed. Soldiers and sailors accompanied the prisoners, a red ribbon in their buttonholes. After various adventures six of them reached Louvain. The return to France is related thus:

On Monday, Nov. 11, [1918,] the signing of the armistice was announced to us; we were free. As the railways were requisitioned for military transportation, we had to go on foot from Louvain to Tervueren, and we met enemy trains on their way back to Germany. What a difference between the aspect of those armies in retreat and the order, the discipline, the arrogance of the days of invasion! The soldiers, dirty and mud-stained, were sprawled on gun caissons, into which they had piled, (the last thefts,) hen and rabbit coops, mattresses, chairs. Food carts alternated with old tipcarts stolen at the last moment, by the side of which were led herds of cows which these bandits were taking away with them. Rout and disaster! The soldiers, who wore the red cockade, no longer saluted their officers. They had lightened their baggage of everything that they could sell, and at their departure they offered a gun for a mark, leaving to any one who wished them their gas masks; I saw in a private house a machine gun and all its equipment, left by them, a souvenir! Only one sentiment, heedlessness succeeding to the weariness of the nightmare! \* \* \* By stages, now in a coal wagon, at other times in automobiles, I got back to France, where the joy of finding my dear ones again and the intoxication of victory soon consoled me for the anguish of those four years.

# German Documents

## Hindenburg's Defense of the Kaiser's Abdication—Ludendorff's Confession

*Documents from high German officials relating to different phases of the war as viewed by Germans were made public in March and April, 1919. They are here placed on record as revealing the attitude of those members of the German official world who were regarded as the main instigators and supporters of the war.—Ed. Current History.*

THE following statement was issued in Berlin by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, March 20, 1919:

Public opinion has been recently again discussing the question why the Kaiser went to Holland. To obviate erroneous judgments, I should like to make the following brief observations. When the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, announced the Kaiser's abdication on Nov. 9, without the Kaiser's previous declaration of assent, the German Army was not beaten, but its strength had dwindled and the enemy had fresh masses in readiness for a new attack. The conclusion of the armistice was directly impending. At this moment of the highest military tension revolution broke out in Germany, the insurgents seized the Rhine bridges, important arsenals, and traffic centres in the rear of the army, thereby endangering the supply of ammunition and provisions, while the supplies in the hands of the troops were only enough to last for a few days. The troops on the lines of communication and the reserves disbanded themselves, and unfavorable reports arrived concerning the reliability of the field army proper.

In view of this state of affairs the peaceful return home of the Kaiser was no longer to be thought of and could only have been enforced at the head of loyal troops. In that case the complete collapse of Germany was inevitable, and civil war would have been added to the fighting with the enemy without, who would doubtless have pressed on with all his energy. The Kaiser could, moreover, have betaken himself to the fighting troops, in order to seek death at their head in a last attack; but the armistice, so keenly desired by the people, would thereby have been postponed, and the lives of many soldiers uselessly sacrificed. Finally, the Kaiser might leave the country. He chose this course in agreement with his advisers, after an extremely severe mental struggle, and solely in the hope that he could thereby best serve the Fatherland, save Germany further losses, distress, and misery.

and restore to her peace and order. It was not the Kaiser's fault that he was of this opinion.

### KAISER AND CROWN PRINCE

The Deutsche Tageszeitung published a number of letters, March 27, 1919, illustrating the attitude of the ex-Kaiser and the ex-Crown Prince during the fateful November of last year. The first is an autograph letter from the ex-Kaiser to the ex-Crown Prince dated Nov. 9, and runs:

My dear Boy: After the Court Chamberlain had informed me that he could no longer guarantee my safety at Main Headquarters, and that the troops also were no longer trustworthy, I have resolved after a severe mental struggle to leave the army, which has collapsed, and go to Holland. I advise you to stick to your post until the conclusion of the armistice. In Berlin two Governments, under the leadership of Ebert and Liebknecht, are fighting against each other. I hope to see you again in happier times. Your faithful and deeply affected father,

WILHELM.

The Crown Prince on the receipt of this letter addressed the following to the then Imperial Chancellor, Herr Ebert, on Nov. 11:

The Crown Prince urgently desires to remain at his post to do his duty like every other soldier. He will bring his army back home in a well-disciplined and orderly manner, and undertakes to do nothing whatever at this juncture against the present Government. What is the Government's attitude in this matter?

The next day the following answer arrived:

After hearing Major Gen. von Wrangel of the Prussian War Ministry, the Government must give its refusal to the request of the Crown Prince.

## CROWN PRINCE TO HINDENBURG

The Crown Prince accordingly decided to lay down the chief command, which he did by the following letter to Marshal von Hindenburg:

Highly Honored Field Marshal: In these most grievous days of our life, both for my father and for myself, I too must say good-bye to your Excellency. With deep emotion I have been obliged to decide to make use of the authority granted me by your Excellency to lay down my post as chief commander and to take up my residence in the first instance in a neutral country. I have only been able to force myself to this step after hard internal struggles, although it is repugnant to my whole nature not to be able to lead my brave troops home. I desire, however, once again briefly to explain my attitude.

Contrary to many unjust opinions, which have always tried to represent me as a war instigator and a reactionary, I have from the beginning adopted the standpoint that this war was for us a war of defense. Again and again during 1916, 1917, and 1918 I made both oral and written representations to the persons concerned that Germany must endeavor by every means in her power to terminate the war and be glad at maintaining herself against the entire world on the basis of the status quo. In many conversations with General Ludendorff I for a long time pleaded for a wise peace by understanding, and expressed the view that the most favorable opportunity for attaining this end was reached when we occupied strong, powerful positions before and also during the Spring offensive.

As regards internal politics, I am the last person to oppose the liberal development of our Constitution. Only a few days ago I set forth this view in writing to Prince Max of Baden. Nevertheless, when the weight of events hurled my father from his throne, I was not only not heard, but was simply passed over as Crown Prince and as heir to the throne. No renunciation was either demanded from or made by me. Notwithstanding these facts my standpoint was to persevere at my post, and my ideal was, by holding my army group together, to avoid further causes of damage and disintegration for our Fatherland. The attitude of the present Government, however, was authoritative as to my remaining further at my military post. I had been informed by it that the Government did not count upon further military employment for me.

Your Excellency will kindly also note that copies of this letter have been sent to the Minister of the royal house, the Prussian Ministry, the Vice Presidents of the lower house, the President of the

upper house, the Chairman of the Military Cabinet, and some friends of mine among the military leaders.

## HEFFERICH DEFENDS KAISER

The former Minister of Finance of Germany, Dr. Karl Helfferich, denies that the German Emperor caused the war in a book entitled "Pre-War History," which was published April 5, 1919:

In his book he sketches a vivid picture of the Emperor's protests of innocence and sadness at the outbreak of hostilities in a talk on Aug. 28, 1914, at the royal castle in Coblenz. The German arms had been victorious and a fortunate outcome of the war seemed certain, Dr. Helfferich says, when he saw the Kaiser for an hour in the castle park. He writes:

The Kaiser spoke about the tremendous occurrences of the last weeks in the most inconsiderate way, and made upon me the impression of a man who, notwithstanding that fortune was smiling upon his affairs, was shaken to the depths and heavily weighed down with the responsibility of his decisions.

He described to me in his own lively way the events which led to the war. He called upon God as his witness that he had been inspired during his entire rule by no higher and holier wish than to maintain peace for his people and better their lot through peaceful work and fortunate conditions of living.

He recalled his last meeting with his cousins, the Czar and the King of England, at the castle in Berlin on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter in the year 1913, and spoke of the composure he had felt regarding the peaceable intentions of Russia and England. He was unable to get used to the idea that all the assurances of friendship and peace had been lies and deception, yet he had convinced himself from the course of events that the guests then under his roof already bore a plot against Germany in their hearts.

From the moment when the seriousness of the situation had come to his consciousness he had implored and begged the King of England and the Czar to save the world from the misfortune of war. He had to limit the possibility of putting pressure upon Emperor Francis Joseph. The Kaiser had implored the Czar up to the last moment to stop Russian mobilization, which would compel us to strike.

After Russian mobilization and against the advice of his own military aids he had given Russia one last chance, but

everything went for nought. Thrice he took his pen in hand before he signed the mobilization order. His responsibility for his own people finally left him no other choice. Our fate was not in God's hands.

Dr. Helfferich further quotes the Emperor regarding the future of Germany in case it should be victorious. The most important thing for him was that out of the war sound good sense and a peaceful co-operation of the peoples of the European Continent should result. This hitherto had been impossible because of Franco-German contrasts, and peace must be concluded in such a way that this goal would be obtained.

The French he believed a knightly nation, Dr. Helfferich says, with a high conception of honor, for which he had always had respect, and whose recon-

ciliation with Germany he had always desired. He could understand that the French Nation found it difficult after the decision of 1870 to submit without another appeal to the fortune of arms. He hoped that after this war the French would have the feeling that honor had been satisfied, and at the conclusion of peace a basis could be created for the honorable co-operation of the two great European peoples of culture in politics and economic life.

That is the man [concludes Dr. Helfferich] whom our enemies—and what is worse, people of our own blood—would like to brand with the stigma of being the cause of the war, a bloody conjurer and oppressor. I am thoroughly convinced that Wilhelm II. knew no higher goal than to keep peace for the German people and the world.

## Ludendorff Realized Defeat in August, 1918

General Ludendorff, former First Quartermaster General of the German Army, in his book on the war, which was issued April 4, 1919, says the defeat of the Germans on Aug. 8 (in the Franco-British offensive near Albert and north of Montdidier) finally resulted in the losing of hope by the Germans for a military victory. Conferences were held with Chancellor von Hertling, Admiral von Hintze, the Foreign Minister, and Field Marshal von Hindenburg on Aug. 14, 15, and 16, and there also was a meeting of the Crown Council, "at which I clearly stated that the war could no longer be won militarily," says Ludendorff.

At the beginning of September the Supreme Army Command again invited von Hertling and von Hintze to Spa, Ludendorff adds. Hertling excused himself from attending on account of his advanced age. In these discussions the situation on the western front was again depicted as very grave, according to Ludendorff. He says:

I opposed Baron Burian's step for peace on account of its vagueness, but favored an immediate peace step in some other form. (Burian was the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and constantly was sending out peace feelers.)

The supreme command, Ludendorff continues, had an idea of mediation by Holland. On Sept. 8 renewed discussions between von Hintze, von Hindenburg, and myself were followed by a report to the Kaiser. Von Hintze was the first to allude to a change on internal grounds. I then spoke as follows:

"We must now act energetically on the armistice and peace questions. The entire situation in Europe may undergo a change to our disadvantage. The western front may at any time have to withdraw further, and the worse our military situation becomes the harder will be the conditions."

On the arrival of President Wilson's note I came to Berlin and submitted the following questions to von Hertling:

"Firstly, is the German people willing to fight on? Secondly, what is the German Government's estimate of the Bolshevik danger, which I take very seriously? Thirdly, is the Ukraine necessary for our provisioning?"

The second note to President Wilson was also sent in agreement with the supreme army command. The answer to it clearly showed that President Wilson no longer had the power to oppose the Entente's demands. For the reply to the note the Chancellor again invited me to Berlin.

The military situation was unchanged. In the west, however, there was a consolidation, and this circumstance, in conjunction with the declaration made by the War Minister that he could within a meas-

urable period give the supreme command 600,000 men, made the situation appear such that we need not surrender unconditionally to President Wilson.

I emphasized the necessity of replying to the note in a dignified tone, with due regard to the empire's interests. An abandonment of the U-boat war could not be considered. Admiral Scheer (former chief of the German Admiralty's Staff) spoke in the same sense. This conception also continued to be held for some days in the War Cabinet. Dr. Solf, (former Foreign Minister,) however, requested Count Wolff-Rettnerich and others to create a more yielding atmosphere. Success fell to Solf. The U-boat war ceased and the path to capitulation was trodden. Von Hindenburg immediately protested against this and proposed an appeal to the nation.

It was clear from President Wilson's third answer that our opponents wanted to destroy us. Von Hindenburg and myself had no doubt that if we must

fight we could continue the war for some months.

The utmost exertion of strength might, perhaps, have had a sobering effect on the enemy peoples and brought us a bearable peace. On Oct. 25 von Hindenburg and I submitted this idea to the Kaiser and later to Vice Chancellor von Payer. We gained the impression that the Imperial Government no longer was willing to fight, but was ready to accept the hardest conditions.

On the 26th I wrote my resignation, but at von Hindenburg's request I did not dispatch it. Immediately afterward I learned that the Supreme Command had been violently attacked in the Reichstag on account of its order relative to the third Wilson note. This order had been rejected by me with the injunction, "Let the matter become clear." Only as the result of clumsiness did the order get placed before von Hindenburg, and then it was out without my knowledge.

## The Kaiser's Plotters in Spain

### Methods of Corruption

THE Germans in Spain, from the beginning of the European war, were so numerous and so well-equipped financially that they were able to carry on pro-German propaganda practically unchecked. Their various clubs and societies in Madrid alone, according to an article in the *Rivista delle Nazioni Latine*, represented a solid block of German sympathy. These pre-war German associations in Madrid and other towns of Spain made easy for Germany the prompt organization of her highly centralized and effective system of espionage. The German Consulate in San Sebastian became an active source of propaganda outside the capital; the Germany colony there, numbering about 1,300 members, as a result of this propaganda, was able to prevent in this city the delivery of lectures favorable to the allied cause. In Madrid itself one Leo von Carsten-Lichterfelde played the rôle of agent de liaison. Another individual, Hans von Krohn, the German Naval Attaché, became through his pro-German activities persona non grata with the Spanish Government, which expelled him in the Winter of 1918.

Leon Daudet, in *l'Action Française*, revealed interesting details of this officer's pro-German plottings. Von Krohn was an ex-engineering officer, an ex-agent of the famous Wolff's Bureau at Buenos Aires; he was married to the daughter of a rich Israeliite banker, Martin Weinstein, and supported a French mistress. To these details may be added the cavalier manner in which von Krohn and his assistant, Otto Stephan, violated Spanish neutrality. In his office on the Calle Orfila, this German Naval Attaché, a man of about fifty, extremely thin, with a projecting chin, held the wires of an immense network of corruption manipulated by German, English, and even French agents, all in the pay of the Rheingold Corruption Fund.

Unscrupulous in his choice of methods and associates, von Krohn, in the special apartment reserved for him in the Palace Hotel, and also at Pozuelo and Aravaca, in the suburbs of Madrid, conducted secret and sinister intrigues, resulting more than once in the death of allied sailors. Some of the scandals of his activity were so notorious that his name became to the populace the synonym of

pro-German disloyalty. The Spanish paper, *El Sol*, on Dec. 14, 1917, published the demand of Señor Dato's Government that Señor von Krone (sic) should be recalled, on the ground of his having facilitated the escape of the German submarine the U-52, interned at Cadiz. Dato's successor, Señor García Prieto, protested vehemently against this publication, deplored "that such delicate affairs capable of leading to so many complications should be given publicity." *El Sol* replied that it was convinced, on the contrary, "that publicity does not injure the interests of the country: we believe it favors them."

The functioning of the German system of espionage in the peninsula required the aid of a strongly Germanophil press. While the majority of French newspapers (excluding the *Temps* and the *Figaro*) failed to maintain regular and special correspondents in Spain, the widely circulated German sheets, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, first among many others, had in Spain such editors as Breuer, Goldstein, and J. Roeb-Nohr, whose monthly subsidies were stated to exceed 1,000 marks. These men, according to Canalejas, were so many secret agents more or less directly in the pay of the German Government; in their service were many Spanish journalists; they had a staff of men ready to write on a given subject at a moment's notice.

One of these agents, a German who went under the alias Brown, and who was a correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, took on the office of recruiter of the German Embassy. Having in his possession valuable statistics of the importance, the circulation, and the financial situation of various Spanish newspapers, he presented himself at the editorial offices of the principal journals, and offered them, on the ground of

former "friendship," a free and "very exact" information service in favor of Germany, with a special subsidy to be paid by the German Embassy. The success of this method was soon evidenced by the pro-German partiality of various organs of Spanish public opinion which, before their purchase by the German corruption fund, had been considered respectable and serious in tendency. A staff of Spanish journalists co-operated with this agent, and it was from this consortium that the majority of articles, signed by straw-men, issued and flooded Spain, and by oral dissemination of their content imposed a factitious viewpoint upon the illiterate mass who, as one writer expressed it in the *Imparcial* of Sept. 10, 1917, were barred off from all "spiritual sociability with the world."

At the beginning of September, 1917, the Athens paper *Hestia* published the official figures of the sums spent by Germany in Greece in 1915 and 1916 for the purchase of the Greek press; the amount was relatively formidable. The statistics for Spain are lacking in the aggregate. An editor of the *Heraldo de Madrid*, however, Señor Alejandro Ber, was able to publish the rates of payment available. A single piece of German news brought 25 pesetas, (about \$5); the same, with an Anglophobe commentary, 50 pesetas; the same, with a happy comparison depreciatory of France, 75 pesetas; a lie diluted through an editorial article, 100 pesetas. High prices for Spain, where the best Spanish writers and thinkers received only 50 pesetas for an article of whatever length! So the network of intrigue to corrupt the Spanish national conscience was woven by the Germans, and so, from the beginning of the war, the systematic campaign of falsehood and bribery was organized for the creation of pro-German opinion in Spain.



# The New Army of the East

By GENERAL MALLETERRE

*Military Expert of the Paris Temps*

THE map reproduced below shows the disposition of the armies or elements of armies which were operating on the eastern front at the beginning of June, 1919. The armistice had left the eastern front vague; one clause, it is true, specified that the German troops should evacuate Russian and Polish territories and withdraw to the frontiers of 1914, and that the Allies should be free to enter Poland through Danzig. But what was Poland when the war ended? It was occupied by the Germans, who had set up a pro-German Government at Warsaw.

At the call of General Pilsudski, freed by the armistice from the captivity in which he had been kept by the Austro-Germans, the former soldiers of his dispersed legions formed a small army, which enabled a Socialist Government to replace the Germanophil party. But he sought vainly assistance from the Allies, who recognized only the Polish National Committee, which had its seat at Paris.

The Polish divisions, formed in France, which had fought at the end of the Summer of 1918 on our front, waited for five months for the order to depart. During this time General Pilsudski held out with very inconsiderable forces, reinforced by a few regular levies, on all the undefined frontiers of the new Poland, against the Germans, the Russian Bolsheviks, the Ukrainians, and even the Czechs. The situation became so critical, both at Posen and at Lemberg, that at the second renewal of the armistice the Allies had to compel the Germans to cease the offensive operations which Hindenburg was about to begin in Posnania. The number of divisions at Hindenburg's command on the Polish and Ukrainian front was estimated at fifteen or sixteen, but with reduced effectives. The armistice prescribed the evacuation of Russian and Polish territories only as far as the frontiers of 1914.

At that juncture the Polish Army,

formed by Pilsudski and operating in Poland, comprised about 38 regiments of 3 battalions, and 6 battalions of chasseurs, a total of 4,000 officers and 65,000 men, of whom scarcely 20,000 were at the front and able to fight. The rest were in the interior, detailed for instruction or acting as police guard, and a certain number of battalions were without officers and arms. The Polish cavalry comprised 12 regiments of lancers, still on paper and in process of formation. The artillery was quite insufficient: 32 batteries of various calibres, Austrian, German, Russian, &c. Including the service corps, the total of this Polish Army at the end of the Spring months may be estimated at 100,000 men, of whom from 30,000 to 40,000 were combatants. About 20,000 more, almost completely organized in Posnania, might be added. The most important massing of forces was at Yaroslav, before Lemberg: 22 battalions and about 20 cavalry squadrons. All the rest were dispersed and operated in isolated detachments. I mention only for completeness the few units of chasseurs organized at Odessa and in Siberia.

But in France there were four Polish divisions, forming a fine army of more than 40,000 soldiers. These divisions of General Haller were just starting for Poland, not by way of Danzig, but directly over German railways across Germany.

There was no doubt that the arrival of the divisions of General Haller would completely transform the situation in Poland by reinforcing the Polish Army and by giving the Polish Government the power to organize the State and carry on a normal system of recruiting.

But the Polish Army is only one of the main elements of the force that must bar off Germany from Russia and drive back Bolshevism. The Polish Army represents the left wing of the new army of the East, the right of which is formed by the Rumanian Army, and the centre by

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the Czechoslovak forces, with the Serbian divisions acting as reserve.

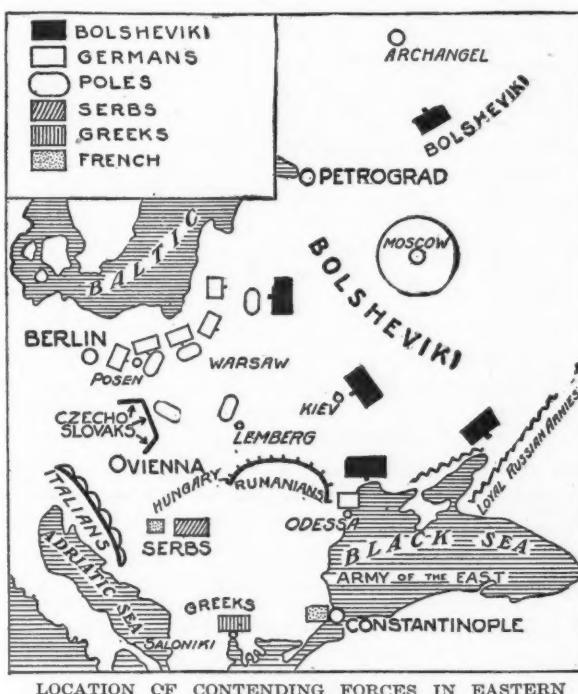
After the armistice of Nov. 11, the French divisions were distributed between Rumania and Hungary. In Hun-

gary in May they had not gone beyond the line Nensatz-Szegedin-Arad. Some cavalry had been at Budapest. Two divisions were commanded by General Berthelot in Rumania. General Anselme commanded a small division at Odessa. All these divisions had been considerably reduced by demobilization, and acted rather as a police guard. It is to be regretted that the Hungarian divisions were not concentrated at Budapest and Vienna, while the Serbian Army

remained in the Banat of Temesvar in reserve.

One incontestable fact applies to all this eastern front—the difficulty of transporting food. All the inaction for which the Allies are reproached in the East is caused by their inability to feed the Poles, the Rumanians, the Serbians, &c. Ships are lacking, to say nothing of climatic obstacles. Bolshevism, by a kind of paradox, feeds on famine. It is famine which has delivered Russia over into the hands of the Red Guards, and it is only in their ranks that food can be obtained. And all Central Europe suffers collectively from this terrible result of the war and the blockade. The offensives of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine and South Russia are famine-offensives; Soviet forces have looted whatever remained in the uncultivated fields. The evacuation of Odessa was a con-

sequence of this frightful situation, in view of which the uncertainties and indecisions of the leaders of the allied Governments are understandable. And yet we must organize this new army of the East and restore to Russia her social, political, and economic freedom. Peace in the West depends essentially on peace in the East. Unification of command, tardily organized, won the war in the West. Only the same unification will win it in the East.



After the armistice of Nov. 11, the French divisions were distributed between Rumania and Hungary. In Hun-



# The Dardanelles Bombardment

## Official Reports of British Admirals Reveal Stirring Details of Naval Operations

OFFICIAL details of the attacks on the Dardanelles forts by British and French squadrons in February and March, 1915, were published by the British Admiralty on May 2, 1919. This information was in the form of letters from Vice Admirals Carden and de Robeck. Admiral Carden's report was followed by a day-by-day analysis of the effects of the bombardment; that sent by Admiral de Robeck concerned itself only with the operations of March 17-18, which proved disastrous to the allied warships.

From the report of Admiral Carden the following details are taken:

The attack on the defenses of the Dardanelles commenced on Feb. 19, 1915. Air reconnaissance on the 17th, 18th, and A. M. 19th confirmed information with regard to forts Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 6, except that an additional gun was shown in eastern bastion of fort No. 6. Seaplanes also reported that some minor earthworks and trenches appeared to have been extensively prepared for the defense of possible landing places.

The following ships took part in the operations of Feb. 19: Suffren, (flag of Contre-Amiral Guépratte;) Bouvet, Triumph, Cornwallis, Inflexible, (flag of Vice Admiral;) Albion.

The Gaulois acted in support of Suffren, while the Amethyst supported Albion. Seven British mine sweepers were employed with the Albion. The Vengeance, (flag of Rear Admiral de Robeck,) was ordered to take station as convenient to observe the fire of her division.

The Queen Elizabeth arrived with the Agamemnon at 4:30 P. M.; the latter took part at the end of the day.

The first shot was fired by the Cornwallis at 9:51 A. M., and the battle continued until 5:30 P. M., when the squadron withdrew.

The result of the day's action showed apparently that the effect of long-range bombardment by direct fire on modern earthwork forts is slight; forts Nos. 1 and 4 appeared to be hit, on many occasions, by twelve-inch common shell well

placed, but when the ships closed in all four guns in these forts opened fire.

### ONE FORT SILENCED

It appears that after the bombardment began no Turkish fort attempted to reply until late in the afternoon, when the old battleships were sent close in, and that the Turks kept their men in shelter until the desired moment. The letter of Admiral Carden summarizes subsequent events as follows:

Bad weather prevented a renewal until Feb. 26, and then there was this difference. Fort No. 1 opened fire on Agamemnon at 10,000 yards as soon as that ship was in position, and hit her several times. This fort maintained its fire with great perseverance against Queen Elizabeth, Agamemnon, and Gaulois, until the former ship by hitting with two consecutive 15-inch projectiles dismounted one gun and put the other out of action, and effectually silenced the fort; the surviving personnel quickly made their way down to the neighboring village. On the same day the accurate fire of Irresistible on fort No. 4 prevented its two 9.4-inch guns taking any part in the proceedings. When the ships closed in forts No. 3 and 6 fired a few ineffective rounds. Although a heavy and prolonged fire at short range was poured into these forts, 70 per cent. of the heavy guns were found to be in a serviceable condition when the demolition parties landed. The destruction of the guns in fort No. 3 by Irresistible and in Nos. 4 and 6 by Vengeance was most smartly and effectively carried out on Feb. 26 and March 1 by demolition parties from those ships, which were ably supported by their detachments of Royal Marines.

I was present in Inflexible close off Kum Kale on March 4, and witnessed the landing operations, which were under the immediate direction of Rear Admiral de Robeck and Brig. Gen. Trotman, both of whom were on board Irresistible in the entrance of the strait. I consider the operations were correctly conducted, and that everything possible under the circumstances was done. The skillful manner in which Wolverine (Commander O. J. Prentis) and Scorpion (Lieut. Commander A. B. Cunningham) ran close inshore after dark and sent whalers ashore to bring off

the remaining officers and men is highly commended.

#### A DIFFICULT LANDING

The operations of this day resulted in the withdrawal of a landing party under most difficult conditions. The following passage describes this rescue:

March 4.—It being uncertain whether forts Nos. 1 and 4 were absolutely destroyed, demolition parties were ordered to land and complete the destruction. At 10 A. M. parties landed at Seddul Bahr and Kum Kale. Both parties met with opposition. At Seddul Bahr no progress could be made, and the party withdrew at 3 P. M. At Kum Kale an attempt was made to reach fort No. 4, but without success, the enemy being in some force in well-concealed trenches. Great difficulty was experienced in withdrawing the advanced party, the enemy gaining possession of a cemetery near Mendere Bridge, commanding the ground over which the party had to fall back, and which could not be shelled by the ships, as our troops were between the cemetery and the ships. Seaplanes attempted to locate the enemy's trenches without success, descending to 2,000 feet in their efforts to distinguish the positions; one seaplane was hit twenty-eight times and another eight times. It was not till the destroyers were sent close in to shell the trenches that the retirement could be carried out. After sunset Scorpion and Wolverine ran in and landed parties, under fire, to search the beach from Kum Kale to the cliffs below fort No. 4. The former brought off two officers and five men, who had been unable to reach the boats.

Details of subsequent operations are as follows:

March 5.—The attack on the forts at the Narrows commenced by indirect bombardment by Queen Elizabeth. Three seaplanes were sent up to spot for fall of shot. One met with an accident, and the second was forced to return on account of her pilot being wounded by a rifle bullet; in consequence they were not of assistance in the firing. Queen Elizabeth was under fire from field guns, being struck on many occasions, without, however, suffering any great material damage.

March 11.—Operations against the Narrows delayed by failure to clear the mine field. Attack on the mine field at night failed owing to the sweepers refusing to face the heavy fire opened by batteries on them and the covering destroyers.

March 13.—A determined attack on the mine field was made on the night of March 13, volunteer officers and men being in each trawler. The defense of the mine field was well organized, and

sweepers and picket boats had to pass through an area lit by six powerful searchlights, under fire from fort No. 13 and batteries Nos. 7 and 8, besides numerous light guns estimated at twenty to thirty on either shore. The passage was accomplished, but on reaching the turning point only one pair of trawlers was able to get out the sweep owing to damage to winches and gear and loss of personnel.

March 14, 15, and 16.—Mine sweepers engaged in clearing up area inside the strait in which ships would have to manoeuvre in their combined attacks against the forts at the Narrows and the mine fields at Kephez.

#### DAY OF DISASTER

March 18 was a day of disaster for the allied warships. Admiral de Robeck's official report tells the story in these words:

The attempts to clear the minefield at Kephez Point during the dark hours having failed, it became necessary to carry this out by daylight. The plan of operations was fully explained to Captains of ships on the 16th, and issued to them on the 17th of March. \* \* \*

The morning of the 18th was fine, though it was at first doubtful whether the direction of the wind—which was from the south—would allow the operations to take place under favorable conditions for spotting; there was also a slight haze over the land; this, however, cleared, and, the wind having fallen, the signal was made at 8:26 A. M. that operation would be proceeded with, commencing at 10:30 A. M.

At 8:15 A. M. the commander of the British mine sweepers reported area between 8,000 and 10,000 yards range was traversed by sweepers on the night of the 17th-18th without result.

8:45—Senior officer of mine sweepers reported that they had swept as far as White Cliffs, "eleven cutters showed signs of working—no mines have been caught in the sweep."

8:50—Signal was made to French Admiral that Vice Admiral did not wish him to approach nearer than 500 yards to the position of the reported mines situated at southeast of Suandere Bay.

9:07—It was reported that Mosquito had sunk three electric mines, none of which exploded; these were evidently empty mine cases which were used to form a boom defense below Suandere Bay, and which had been broken up by our explosive creeps.

9:10—Destroyers, fitted with light sweep, were ordered to sweep in ahead of the fleet.

10:30—Ships reported, "Ready for ac-

tion," and Line A proceeded in the following order: Prince George, (on port beam,) Agamemnon, Lord Nelson, Queen Elizabeth, Inflexible, and Triumph, (on starboard beam.) Destroyers with sweeps preceded Line A into the Dardanelles. Each battleship had one picket boat in attendance her to deal with floating mines.

11—Ships were engaging field guns and howitzers firing from the Asiatic shore.

11:15—Four steamers were observed in the middle of the stream off Chanak; these made off up the straits about fifteen minutes later.

### SINKING OF THE BOUDET

From 11:25 to 1:38 the bombardment continued more or less uneventfully. From 1:43 on the troubles of the allied warships began:

1:43.—There was little firing; mine sweepers were ordered to close. The French squadron were ordered out of the strait, also Prince George and Triumph, the ships relieving them being formed up just inside the strait.

1:54.—Suffren leading line "B" out of Straits, with Bouvet immediately astern. A large explosion occurred on the starboard side of the latter, abaft the after-bridge, accompanied by dense masses of reddish-black smoke. Bouvet capsized to starboard and sank within two minutes of the first explosion. From the Queen Elizabeth it appeared that the explosion was not due to a mine, but possibly to a large projectile; it was also considered that a magazine explosion had occurred, as she was previously observed to be on fire aft, and she sank so rapidly; there appears little doubt that her magazine blew up, but whether it was exploded by a mine, gunfire, or by an internal fire is not clear. British boats were quickly on the scene, but the whole episode occupied so short a time that few of the crew could have reached the upper deck; only sixty-six were picked up. Suffren stood by till all the survivors were picked up, the remainder of her line proceeding out of harbor. The enemy fired a few shells at the boats picking up survivors, without, however, obtaining any hits.

### IRRESISTIBLE STRIKES A MINE

3:14.—A heavy explosion was observed alongside Irresistible, evidently a big shell. All forts were now firing rapidly, but inaccurately. Fort 19 apparently concentrating on Irresistible, Queen Elizabeth in consequence opened salvo firing on it.

3:32.—Irresistible was observed to have slight list.

4:11.—Inflexible reported "struck a mine"; she proceeded out of the strait.

4:14.—Irresistible apparently unable to move, and with a noticeable list. Wear was ordered to close her and ascertain what was the matter, signaling communication having broken down. Irresistible was ordered to proceed out of the strait,



SCENE OF DARDANELLES NAVAL BOMBARDMENT

if able to do so, and Ocean to prepare to take Irresistible in tow. Wear was seen to go alongside Irresistible, and subsequently returned to Queen Elizabeth at 4:50 P. M., with 28 officers and 582 crew of Irresistible on board her. It was then ascertained for the first time that Irresistible had struck a mine, both engine rooms being immediately flooded. As the ship was helpless, her commanding officer decided to remove a portion of the crew, retaining the executive officer, and ten volunteers to work wires, &c., should it be found possible to take her in tow. The operation of removing the crew was carried out in a perfectly orderly manner, the ship being under fire the whole time from Forts 7 and 8 and batteries near Aren Kioi.

4:50.—When it was learned that Irresistible had also struck a mine, orders were given for Line B to withdraw.

5:10.—Wear having disembarked crew of Irresistible, was ordered to close Ocean and Irresistible and direct the former to withdraw if she was unable to take the latter in tow.

### TRAGEDY OF THE OCEAN

5:50.—Survivors on board Irresistible were removed to Ocean, the Captains of both ships being of opinion that it was impracticable to take Irresistible in tow, she being bows on to the Asiatic shore, listing badly, at right angles to the course for going out, and there appearing to be insufficient room to manoeuvre between

her and the shore. It was therefore determined to leave her till dark, when an attempt would be made to tow her out with destroyers and mine-sweepers, arrangements being meanwhile taken to torpedo and sink her in deep water should there be any chance of her grounding; this was always a possibility, as she was in the dead water off White Cliffs with a light breeze blowing up the strait. Irresistible having been abandoned, it was decided, in view of the unexpected mine menace, to abandon the mine-sweeping of the Kephez mine field, it being inadvisable to leave heavy ships inside the strait to cover the mine-sweepers.

6:50.—Ocean, while withdrawing, struck a mine and took a quick list to starboard of about 15 degrees. At the same time a shell, striking the starboard side aft, jammed the helm nearly hard a-port. The list becoming gradually greater, her commanding officer determined to disembark her crew; this was done in the destroyers Colne, Jed, and Chelmer under a heavy cross-fire from Forts Nos. 7 and 8 and batteries at Aren Kiol. Chelmer was twice

struck while alongside Ocean. When all were reported clear of the ship the Captain embarked in Jed and lay off till dark; he then returned to her to make absolutely certain no one was left on board and that nothing could be done to save her. His opinion being that nothing could be done, the ship was finally abandoned in the centre of the strait at about 7:30 P. M.

The Captains of Ocean and Irresistible, after reporting to the Vice Admiral commanding, returned to the Dardanelles to join the destroyers, which, with six mine-sweepers, had been ordered to enter the Straits after dark to endeavor to tow Irresistible into the current and prevent Ocean drifting out of it. No trace of either ship could be found; this was confirmed by Jed at 11 P. M. after an exhaustive search. Sanopus at daylight also reconnoitred, and found no trace of either. There is no doubt both ships sank in deep water. The squadron anchored at Tenedos for the night, Canopus and Cornwallis being on patrol with destroyers at the entrance of the strait.

## The Last Phase in East Africa

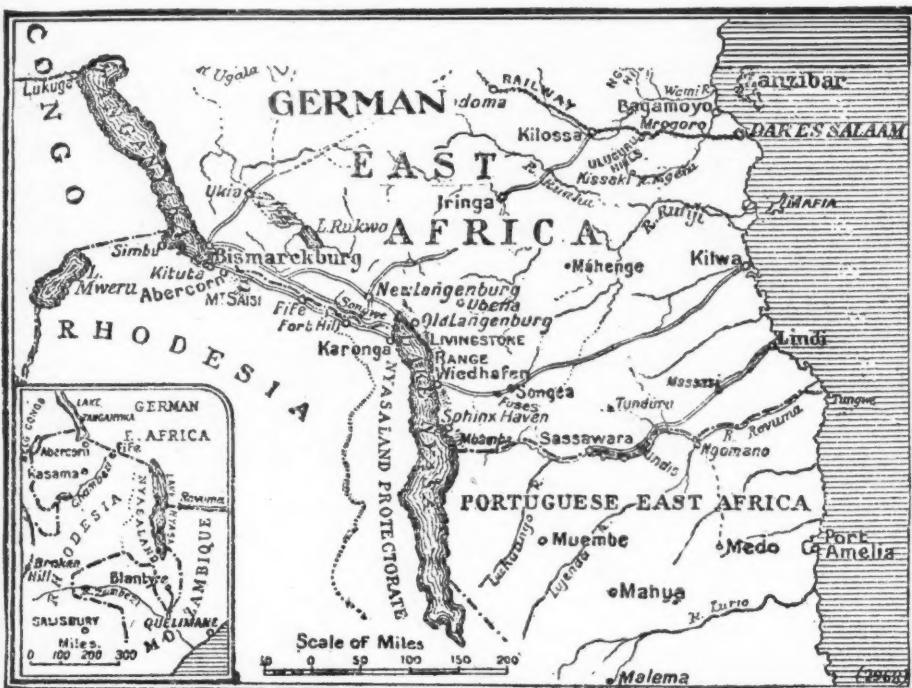
### General Van Deventer's Dispatch

LEUT. GEN. J. L. VAN DEVENTER, Commander in Chief of the British Forces in East Africa, writing under date of Pretoria, Jan. 20, 1919, made his final report to the British War Office regarding the operations in East Africa from Sept. 1 to Nov. 25, 1918, when General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German commander, surrendered, thus closing the struggle for Germany's African colonies. This final phase of the war was fought in three colonies—German East Africa, Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa. Early in September the German commander, finding Portuguese East Africa too hot for him, moved northward into the Songea area of German East Africa again, and led the British forces on a strenuous chase through difficult regions, which he systematically devastated as he went. Finding himself cut off at length, however, von Lettow-Vorbeck doubled westward into Rhodesia, and on Nov. 2 attacked Fife in force. This town, on the Rhodesian border, was defended by two companies of Northern

Rhodesia police, who beat off the enemy. The end is described as follows in General Van Deventer's dispatch:

The 1st-4th were in hot pursuit from the north, and the enemy retired toward Kayambi Mission, and by Nov. 8 his advanced troops had reached Kasama, about 100 miles due south of Abercorn. Thus, after a brief incursion of five weeks, German East Africa was again clear of the enemy. The Northern Rhodesian Police moved to Abercorn to be ready to meet any northward move from Kasama; the 1st-4th continued the pursuit, and by very rapid marching caught up half the enemy's force near Kayambi on the 6th of November. A stiff engagement ensued, in which the 1st-4th captured two machine guns and drove the enemy out of his position.

Suitable measures for the transfer of troops to the Rhodesian Railway had by this time been taken, and Colonel Olsen's brigade was moving southward when, on the 11th of November, news of the signing of the armistice was received. I at once took steps to get in touch with the German commander, but telegraph communications had been interrupted, and it was not until the evening of the 12th, after another fight north of Kasama on



SCENE OF LAST FIGHTING IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA

that day, that hostilities ceased. On the morning of the 14th of November my terms, based on Clause 17, were handed to General von Lettow-Vorbeck, in accordance with which he formally surrendered to General Edwards, my representative, at Abercorn, on Nov. 25.

In view of the gallant and prolonged resistance maintained by the German force in East Africa, I allowed General von Lettow-Vorbeck and his officers to retain their swords, while the European rank and file were permitted to carry their arms as far as Dar-es-Salaam.

Thus ended a remarkable, and in some ways unique, campaign. Never before had operations on a large scale, with modern weapons, taken place within a few degrees of the equator. Seldom, perhaps, has one consecutive series of operations been conducted over such a vast area, extending from the Uganda Railway to the Zambesi, and from Lakes Kivu, Tanganyika, and Nyassa to the Indian Ocean.

Unique in civilized warfare was the fact that the East African campaign was, in effect, one of virtual extermination. At the beginning of the 1916 advance the German forces amounted to 2,700 Europeans and 12,000 Africans. By the end of that year three-quarters of German East Africa was in our hands, and the enemy's force had been reduced by half.

Those remaining were, however, the pick of his troops, and were by no means conquered, and the stubbornest fighting of the whole campaign took place in the Lindi and Kilwa districts in the latter part of 1917.

When General von Lettow-Vorbeck retired across the Rovuma into Portuguese East Africa in November, 1917, he was followed by 320 whites and 2,500 black troops. He, however, possessed a valuable reserve of trained porters of good fighting stock, from whom he enlisted recruits from time to time, and when the German commander finally surrendered, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, his force still numbered 155 Europeans and 1,168 askari.

The Germans rewarded their black troops by giving them a free hand in respect of loot and the treatment of women; but it nevertheless says much for the character of the German commander that he was able to keep these men with him through four years of most strenuous campaigning. There were occasions when atrocities were committed on our wounded; and the treatment of our prisoners—especially the Indians—was at times infamous; but the Germans themselves, with rare exceptions, tried to stop the former, while the latter was the work of men far behind the firing line, most of whom have

already been punished; and though it is impossible entirely to exonerate the Higher German Command with regard to these matters, it must in justice be said that the actual fighting of the East African campaign was, on the whole, clean—and sometimes even chivalrous.

To the troops that achieved and maintained the conquest of German East Africa unstinted praise is due. The vastness of the theatre of operations, the difficulties of supply, and the deadliness of many parts of the country to all but the indigenous African greatly enhanced the hardships inseparable from any form of campaigning in the tropics. The distances covered by the troops, especially in the later stages of the campaign, would have been remarkable even in a temperate climate; carried out in the heart of Africa,

under a blazing sun or in torrential rain, they were wonderful feats of endurance. Though few engagements in the East African campaign rose to the dignity of battles, yet the fighting was often continuous and always most determined; and there are, perhaps, few fields of operation more trying than the bush, which invariably produces in time a feeling of depression in those who have been accustomed to more open warfare, while the sensation of continually groping in the dark tries the moral and physical courage of the bravest.

The theatre of war was perhaps the most difficult in which any large body of troops has ever fought, and as a test of sheer human endurance the operations in East Africa must rank high among the campaigns of the world.

### The Order for the Defense of Paris

In the course of his deposition before the French Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on the Briey question, March 28, 1918, General Messimy read the order he had drawn up when he was War Minister during the night of Aug. 24-25, 1914, regarding the defense of Paris. The order was addressed to General Joffre, commanding the armies of the North and East, and was as follows:

Aug. 25, 1914, 5 A. M.—If victory does not crown the success of our arms, and if the armies are compelled to retreat, a minimum army of three active corps should be directed to the entrenched camp of Paris to insure the safety of the capital. Please acknowledge receipt of this order.

A letter accompanying the order read as follows:

My dear General: Herewith I send an

order, the vital importance of which will not escape your notice. It is an order to let Paris have a garrison of at least three army corps in good condition in case of repulse. It follows that the line of retreat of the rest of the army should be quite different, and cover the centre and south of France. We are determined to fight to the end mercilessly. Affectionately yours,

MESSIMY.

This cleared up a matter on which there had been much controversy. The creation of an army at Paris which ten days later was fated to win the battle of the Oureq and to play an important part in first victory of the Marne was due to the personal initiative of General Messimy, who was in accord with General Gallieni. Gallieni's appointment as Military Governor of Paris was announced officially on the following day.



# HAIG'S FINAL DISPATCH

## Review of the Whole War as One Great and Continuous Engagement—Part II. Concluded

[SECOND HALF]

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S final dispatch regarding the operations of the British armies in France, dated March 21, 1919, was begun in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY and is here completed. Discussing artillery methods, Sir Douglas continues:

### INTENSITY OF FIRE

A short examination of our principal attacks will give a good idea of the increasing importance of artillery. On the first day of the Somme battle of 1916 the number of artillery personnel engaged was equal to about half the infantry strength of the attacking divisions. On this one day a total of nearly 13,000 tons of artillery ammunition was fired by us on the western front. Our attacks at Arras and Messines on April 9 and June 7, 1917, saw the total expenditure of artillery ammunition nearly doubled on the first days of those battles, while the proportion of artillery personnel to infantry steadily grew.

During the period following the opening of the Somme battle, the predominance of our artillery over that of the enemy gradually increased, till at the time of the Arras battle it had reached a maximum. In the course of the Summer and Autumn of 1917, however, the enemy constantly reinforced his artillery on our front, being enable to do so owing to the relaxation of pressure elsewhere.

The battle of Ypres in the Autumn of 1917 was one of intense struggle for artillery supremacy. By dint of reducing his artillery strength on other parts of the western front, and by bringing guns from the east, the enemy definitely challenged the predominance of our artillery. In this battle, therefore, the proportion of our artillery to infantry strength was particularly large. In the opening attack on July 31 our artillery personnel amounted to over 80 per cent. of the infantry engaged in the principal attack on our front, and our total expenditure of artillery ammunition on this day exceeded 23,000 tons. During the succeeding weeks the battle of the rival artilleries became ever more violent. On the two days, Sept. 20 and 21, about 42,000 tons of artillery ammunition were expended by us, and in the successful attack of Oct. 4, which gave us the main ridge about Broodseinde, our artillery personnel amounted to 85 per cent. of the infantry engaged in the assault.

During the Winter of 1917-18 the enemy so greatly added to his artillery strength by batteries brought from the Russian front that in his Spring offensive he was able temporarily to effect a definite local artillery superiority. This state of affairs was short lived. Even before the breakdown of the German offensive, our guns had regained the upper hand. In the battles later in the year the superiority of our batteries once more grew rapidly, until the defeat of the German artillery became an accomplished fact. From the commencement of our offensive in August, 1918, to the conclusion of the armistice, some 700,000 tons of artillery ammunition were expended by the British armies on the western front. For the fortnight from Aug. 21 to Sept. 3 our average daily expenditure exceeded 11,000 tons, while for the three days of crucial battle, on Sept. 27, 28, and 29, nearly 65,000 tons of ammunition were fired by our artillery.

The tremendous growth of our artillery strength above described followed inevitably from the character of the wearing-out battle upon which we were engaged. The restricted opportunities for manoeuvre and the necessity for frontal attacks made the employment of great masses of artillery essential.

The massing of guns alone, however, could not have secured success without the closest possible combination between our batteries and the infantry they were called upon to support, as well as with the other arms. The expansion was accompanied, therefore, by a constant endeavor to improve the knowledge of all ranks of both artillery and infantry and the air service concerning the work and possibilities of the other arms.

An intelligent understanding of "the other man's job" is the first essential of successful co-operation. To obtain the best results from the vast and complex machine composing a modern army, deep study of work other than one's own is necessary for all arms. For this study much time is needed, as well as much practical application of the principles evolved, and, for reasons already explained, opportunity sufficient for adequate training could not be found. None the less, the best possible use was made of such opportunities as offered, and much was in fact accomplished.

### THE SIGNAL SERVICE

As a natural corollary to the general increase of our forces, the Signal Service, required alike for the proper co-ordination of supply and for the direction and control of

the battle, has grown almost out of recognition. From an original establishment of under 2,400 officers and men, trained and equipped chiefly for mobile warfare, at the end of 1918 the personnel of the Signal Service had risen to 42,000, fully equipped with all the latest devices of modern science to act efficiently under all conditions as the nervous system to the whole vast organism of our army.

The commencement of trench warfare and the greater use of artillery led to a rapid development of the signal system, which, as fresh units were introduced, became more and more elaborate. At the same time the increase in the power and range of artillery made the maintenance of communications constantly more difficult. Many miles of deep trenches were dug in which cables containing 50 to 100 circuits were buried to gain protection from shellfire. The use of wireless communication gradually became more widely spread and finally constituted part of the signal establishment of all formations down to divisions. To provide an alternative method of communication with front-line troops, in 1915 carrier pigeons were introduced and a special branch of the signal service was formed controlling ultimately some 20,000 birds. In 1917 a messenger dog service was started for similar purposes and did good work on a number of occasions.

The expansion of the work of the signal service in the more forward areas was accompanied by a similar development on the lines of communication, at General Headquarters, armies and corps. Construction and railway companies were formed and about 1,500 miles of main telegraph and telephone routes constructed in the lines of communication area alone, in addition to many miles in army areas. Provision had to be made for communicating with London, Paris, and Marseilles, as well as between the different allied headquarters. On the advance of our forces to the Rhine telephone communication was established between General Headquarters at Montreuil and Cologne. Signal communication entailing the putting up of many thousands of miles of wire was provided also for the control of railway traffic, while to supplement electric communication generally a dispatch rider letter service was maintained by motorcyclists.

The amount of signal traffic dealt with became very great and on the lines of communication alone more than 23,000 telegrams have been transmitted in twenty-four hours. Similarly at General Headquarters as many as 9,000 telegrams have been dealt with in twenty-four hours, besides 3,400 letters carried by dispatch rider; an army headquarters has handled 10,000 telegrams and 5,000 letters in the same space of time, and a corps 4,500 telegrams and 3,000 letters. In addition to telegrams and letters there has been at all times a great volume of telephone traffic.

Something of the extent of the constructional work required, in particular to meet

the constant changes of the battleline and the movement of headquarters, can be gathered from the fact that as many as 6,500 miles of field cable have been issued in a single week. The average weekly issue of such cable for the whole of 1918 was approximately 3,300 miles.

#### REARWARD SERVICES

The immense expansion of the army from six to over sixty infantry divisions, combined with the constant multiplication of auxiliary arms, called inevitably for a large increase in the size and scope of the services concerned in the supply and maintenance of our fighting forces.

As the army grew and became more complicated the total feeding strength of our forces in France rose until it approached a total of 2,700,000 men. The vastness of the figures involved in providing for their needs will be realized from the following examples: For the maintenance of a single division for one day nearly 200 tons dead weight of supplies and stores are needed, representing a shipping tonnage of nearly 450 tons. In an army of 2,700,000 men the addition of one ounce to each man's daily ration involves the carrying of an extra 75 tons of goods.

To cope with so great a growth, the number of existing directorates had gradually to be added to or their duties extended, with a corresponding increase in demands for personnel. The supervision of ports was intrusted to the Directorate of Docks, which controlled special companies for the transhipping of stores. By the end of November, 1918, the number of individual landings in France at the various ports managed by us exceeded ten and one-half million persons. During the eleven months, January to November, 1918, the tonnage landed at these ports averaged some 175,000 tons per week.

To the Directorate of Transport, originally concerned with the administration of horse vehicles and pack animals, fell the further duty of exploiting mechanical road traction. Despite the employment of over 46,700 motor vehicles, including over 30,000 lorries, the number of horses and mules rose greatly, reaching a figure exceeding 400,000. The replacement, training, and distribution of these animals was the duty of the Directorate of Remounts. The Directorate of Veterinary Services reduced losses and prevented the spread of disease, while the Inspector of Horse Feeding and Economies insured that the utmost value was obtained from the forage and grain consumed.

To meet the requirements of mechanical and horse traffic, the upkeep or construction of a maximum of some 4,500 miles of roadway was intrusted to the Directorate of Roads. Some idea of the work involved may be obtained from the fact that for ordinary upkeep alone 100 tons of road material are required per fortnight for the maintenance of one mile of road. Under this directorate were organized a number of road con-

struction companies, together with quarry companies to supply the necessary material. In the month of October, 1918, over 85,000 tons of road material were conveyed weekly by motor transport alone, involving a petrol mileage of over 14,000,000 weekly. The total output of stone from the commencement of 1918 to the date of the armistice amounted to some 3,500,000 tons.

#### RAILWAY SERVICE

For the working of the existing railways and for the construction or repair of many miles of track, both normal and narrow gauge, railway troops of every description, operating companies, construction companies, survey and reconnaissance companies, engine crew companies, workshop companies, wagon erecting companies, and light railway forward companies had to be provided. Under the Directorate of Railway Traffic, the Directorate of Construction, and the Directorate of Light Railways, these and other technical troops during 1918 built or reconstructed 2,340 miles of broad-gauge and 1,348 miles of narrow-gauge railway. Throughout the whole period of their operation they guaranteed the smooth and efficient working of the railway system. In the six months, May to October, 1918, a weekly average of 1,800 trains were run for British Army traffic, carrying a weekly average load of approximately 400,000 tons, while a further 130,000 tons was carried weekly by our light railways. The number of locomotives imported to deal with this traffic rose from 62 in 1916 to over 1,200 by the end of 1918, while the number of trucks rose from 3,840 to 52,600.

The Inland Water Transport section were organized under a separate directorate for the working in France and Flanders of the canal and cross-channel barge traffic. On inland waterways alone an average of 56,000 tons of material was carried weekly during 1918, the extent of waterways worked by us at the date of the armistice being 465 miles.

The wonderful development of all methods of transportation had an important influence upon the course of events. No war has been fought with such ample means of quick transportation as were available during the recent struggle. Despite the huge increase in the size of armies, it was possible to effect great concentration of troops with a speed which, having regard to the numbers of men and bulk of material moved, has never before been equalled. Strategic and tactical mobility has been the guiding principle of our transportation arrangements; but this was itself at all times vitally affected by questions of supply and by the necessity of providing for the evacuation and replacement on a vast scale of the sick and wounded.

The successful co-ordination and economic use of all the various kinds of transportation requires most systematic management, based on deep thought and previous experience. So great was the work entailed in the handling

of the vast quantities of which some few examples are given above, so complex did the machinery of transport become and so important was it that the highest state of efficiency should be maintained, that in the Autumn of 1916 I was forced to adopt an entirely new system for running our lines of communication. The appointment of Inspector General of Communications was abolished, and the services previously directed by that officer were brought under the immediate control of the Adjutant General, the Quartermaster General, and the Director General of Transportation. The last mentioned was a new office created with a separate staff composed for the greater part of civilian experts to deal specifically with transportation questions. At the same time, the command and administration of the troops on the lines of communication were vested in a "General officer commanding the lines of communication area."

#### HUGE BULK OF MUNITIONS

The huge bulk of the supplies to be handled was due not merely to the size of our army. It arose also from the introduction of new weapons and methods of war, and from the establishment of a higher standard of comfort for the troops. The incessant demands of the fighting forces for munitions were supplied by the Directorate for Ordnance Services, combined with a great expansion of ordnance workshops; while the Directorate of Engineering Stores provided on a vast scale the materials required for the construction of trench defenses and kindred purposes. For the comfort and well-being of the troops, the Directorate of Supplies stored and distributed in sound condition fresh food, to take the place as far as possible of tinned rations. Through the agency of an inspectorate of messing and economics, regular schools of cookery gave instruction to nearly 25,000 cooks, and careful measures were taken for the recovery of kitchen by-products. In August, 1918, over 860,000 pounds of dripping was received from armies and consigned to England, while the cash value of the by-products disposed of from all sources has exceeded £60,000 in a single month. Provision was made for baths, and a new inspectorate supervised the running of army laundries on up-to-date lines.

The Expeditionary Force canteens made it possible to obtain additional comforts close up to the front. During 1918 the value of the weekly sales in the different canteens averaged 8,500,000 francs. These canteens were valuably supplemented by the various voluntary institutions ministering to the comfort and recreation of our troops, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Church Army, the Scottish Churches Huts, the Salvation Army, the Soldiers' Christian Association, the Catholic Women's League and Club Huts, the United Army and Navy Board, the Wesleyan Soldiers' Institute, and the British Soldiers' Institute. In many cases these organizations

carried on their work almost in the actual fighting line, and did much to maintain the high morale of our armies. To permit the troops to avail themselves of the opportunities so offered, methods devised by the Paymaster in Chief enabled soldiers to obtain money anywhere in the field. Parcels and letters from home have been delivered by the Army Postal Service with remarkable regularity.

As the effects of the enemy submarine warfare began to be felt and the shortage of shipping became more and more acute, so it became increasingly necessary for the army in France to be more self-supporting. To meet this emergency vast hospitals and convalescent depots, capable of accommodating over 22,000 men, were erected west of the Seine at Trouville. Additional general hospitals, with accommodation for over 7,000 patients, were established in the neighborhood of Boulogne, Etaples, and elsewhere. Between January, 1916, and November, 1918, the total capacity of hospitals and convalescent depots in France grew from under 14,000 to over 157,000 persons.

Great installations were set up for the manufacture of gun parts and articles of like nature, for the repair of damaged material, as well as for the utilization of the vast quantities of articles of all kinds collected from the battlefields by the organization working under the direction of the Controller of Salvage. The Forestry Directorate, controlling over seventy Canadian and other forestry companies, worked forests all over France, in the Northwest, Central, and Southwest Departments, the Vosges, Jura, and Bordeaux country. As the result of its work, our armies were made practically independent of overseas imported timber. The Directorate of Agricultural Production organized farm and garden enterprises for the local supply of vegetables, harvested the crops abandoned by the enemy in his retreat, and commenced the reclamation of the devastated area.

At the same time a great saving of shipping was effected by the speeding up of work at the docks. The average tonnage discharged per hour in port rose from 12½ tons in January, 1917, to 34½ tons in July, 1918, while the average number of days lost by ships waiting berth at the ports fell from some ninety ship days per week at the beginning of 1917 to about nine ship days per week in 1918.

#### BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED

For the accommodation of so wide a range of services, installations of all kinds, huts, factories, workshops, storage for ammunition, clothing, meat and petrol, power houses and pumping stations, camps and hospitals, had to be planned and constructed by the Directorate of Works. Our business relations with the French, the obtaining of sites and buildings, called for the estab-

lishment of a Directorate of Hirings and Requisitions, while my financial adviser in France assisted in the adjustment of financial questions connected with the use of French railways and harbors, the exploitation of French forests, and similar matters. The safeguarding from fire of the great number of buildings erected or taken over by us and of the masses of accumulated stores was intrusted to a definite staff under the supervision of a fire expert.

The creation and maintenance of the great organization briefly outlined above made big demands upon our available supply of personnel. Though these demands, so far as possible, were met, under the supervision of the Controller of Labor, by imported labor or prisoners of war, it was not practicable at any time to supply more than a proportion of our needs in this manner. Many fit men who might otherwise have reinforced the fighting line had also to be employed, especially during the earlier stages of the war.

As, however, our organization arrived at a greater state of completion and its working became smooth, so it began to be possible to withdraw considerable numbers of fit men from the rearward services. In many cases it was possible, where replacement was necessary, to fill the places of the fit men so withdrawn by women or unfit men. In this way, when the man-power situation became acute a considerable saving was effected. During the great British attacks of 1918, of a total male feeding strength of a little over 2,225,000, 1,500,000 were in front of railhead. Even so, as has been found to be the case in the armies of all other belligerents, so in our army the number of fit men employed in the rearward services has at all times been large and necessarily so.

It is hardly too much to assert that, however seemingly extravagant in men and money, no system of supply except the most perfect should ever be contemplated. To give a single example, unless our supply services had been fully efficient the great advance carried out by our armies during the Autumn of last year could not have been achieved.

Wars may be won or lost by the standard of health and morale of the opposing forces. Morale depends to a very large extent upon the feeding and general well-being of the troops. Badly supplied troops will invariably be low in morale, and an army ravaged by disease ceases to be a fighting force. The feeding and health of the fighting forces are dependent upon the rearward services, and so it may be argued that with the rearward services rests victory or defeat. In our case we can justly say that our supply system has been developed into one of the most perfect in the world.

The preceding paragraph illustrates the demands which the conduct of operations made on the staff and directorates controlled by the Quartermaster General. The parallel de-

velopment of the Adjutant General's branch, while concerned with matters less patent to the casual observer, has been no less remarkable. The problem of insuring the supply of reinforcements at the times and places at which they will be required to replace casualties is present in all warfare, and is difficult in any circumstance. In operations conducted on the scale reached in this war it is exceedingly intricate. The successful solution of this problem alone entitles the Adjutant General and his staff to the greatest credit. It has formed, however, but a small part of their work.

### REPLACEMENT, DISCIPLINE, AND WELFARE

Owing to the impossibility of foretelling what claims would be made on man power by industry or by other theatres of war, it was necessary to prepare elaborate forecasts of the personnel likely to be required at various future dates, and to work out in advance the best manner of utilizing reinforcements in the event of their being available in greater or less numbers. We were faced with an unexpected contraction in man power in the Winter of 1917 and an unexpected expansion in the Summer of 1918. Both these developments were encountered with a success which could only have been attained by the greatest forethought and application on the part of the staff concerned.

To reduce to cadre a depleted division, to fill it up when men become available, to break up a battalion and redistribute its personnel, to comb out a certain number of fit men from the rearward services, all sound simple operations. In reality each requires an immense amount of sympathetic treatment and clerical labor, the extent of the work involved being instanced by the fact that in the month of April, 1918, over 200,000 reinforcements were sent up to the fighting forces. The carrying out of measures of this nature was made more difficult by the continual formation of new types of units to meet new requirements. It was necessary to find the personnel for those units with the least possible dislocation elsewhere and with an eye to the most advantageous employment of the individual in regard to his medical category and special qualifications. The following figures will give some indication of the magnitude of the task. The Adjutant General's office at the base has prepared over eight million records containing the military history of individual soldiers in France, and has received and dispatched over twenty-two million letters.

### MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE

Whatever the quality of the troops, a just and efficient administration of military law is an indispensable adjunct to a high standard of discipline. I gratefully acknowledge the care with which officers of the Adjutant General's branch in all formations have in-

sured the observation of every safeguard which our law provides against injustice. They have seen to it that every plea which an accused or convicted soldier wishes to bring forward is heard, and that commanders are advised as to the suitability of sentences. I take this opportunity of recording my satisfaction at the success which has attended the operation of the Suspension of Sentences act. The number of men under suspended sentence who by good conduct and gallant service in the field have earned remission of their sentence has been most encouraging.

Closely related to the administration of military law is the work of the military police under the Provost Marshal, and of the military prisons in the field. In the battle zone, where frequently they had to do duty in exposed positions under heavy fire and suffered severe casualties, the military police solved an important part of the problem of traffic control by preventing the unavoidable congestion of troops and transport on roads in the vicinity of active operations from degenerating into confusion. In back areas, their vigilance and zeal have largely contributed to the good relations maintained between our troops and the civilian population.

Although the number of soldiers undergoing sentences of imprisonment in France has at no time amounted to one per thousand, the size of the army has necessitated a considerable expansion of the military prisons in the field. The Director of Military Prisons, his Governors and warders have sought, not retribution but to build up the self-discipline of the prisoner. They have been rewarded by seeing a large percentage of the men committed to their charge subsequently recover their characters as good soldiers.

Under the general control of the Adjutant General, the base stationery depot, which went to France in 1914 with a personnel of ten, has expanded into the Directorate of Army Printing and Stationery Services, employing over 60 officers and 850 other ranks. In addition to the printing and distribution of orders and instructions, it undertook the reproduction on a vast scale of aerial and other photographs, the number of which grew from 25,000 in 1916 to two and a quarter million in 1918. Other examples of administrative success are the Prisoners of War Section and the Directorate of Graves Registration and Inquiries.

### SURGEONS AND CHAPLAINS

Of the care taken for the physical and moral welfare of the troops I cannot speak too highly.

In the former domain, the achievements of the Director General of Medical Services and his subordinates have been so fully recorded by me in previous dispatches that they need no further emphasis. It is sufficient to say that, in spite of the numbers dealt with, there has been no war in which the resources

of science have been utilized so generously and successfully for the prevention of disease or for the quick evacuation and careful tending of the sick and wounded.

In the latter sphere the devoted efforts of the army Chaplains of all denominations have contributed incalculably to the building up of the indomitable spirit of the army. As the result of their teaching, all ranks came to know and more fully understand the great and noble objects for which they were fighting.

Under the immediate direction of the Adjutant General in matters concerning military administration, the Principal Chaplain for members of all churches except the Church of England, and the Deputy Chaplain General for members of the Church of England administer to the greatest harmony a very complete joint organization. Provided with a definite establishment for armies, corps, and divisions, as well as for the principal base ports, base camps, hospitals, and certain other units, they insure that the benefit of religion is brought within the reach of every soldier.

In all the senior offices of this joint organization, down to divisions, the Principal Chaplain and Deputy Chaplain General have each their representatives, the appointments to those offices in the Principal Chaplain's section being apportioned between the different churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic, in proportion to the numbers of their following in the army as a whole. This organization has worked for the common good in a manner wholly admirable and with a most noteworthy absence of friction. It has undoubtedly been much assisted, both in its internal economy and in its relations with commanders and troops, by being at all times in direct touch with the Adjutant General's branch.

#### AID GIVEN BY WOMEN

No survey of the features of the war would be complete without some reference to the part played by women serving with the British armies in France. Grouped also under the Adjutant General's branch of the General Staff, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service, the Nursing Sisters of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and of the Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Territorial Force Nursing Services, and the British Red Cross Society have maintained and embellished a fine tradition of loyalty and efficiency. These services have been reinforced by members of voluntary aid detachments from the British Isles, the oversea dominions, and the United States of America, who have vied with their professional sisters in cheerfully enduring fatigue in times of stress and gallantly facing danger and death.

Women in the British Red Cross Society and other organizations have driven ambulances throughout the war, undeterred by

discomfort and hardship. Women have ministered to the comfort of the troops in huts and canteens. Finally, Queen Mary's Auxiliary Army Corps, recruited on a wider basis, responded with enthusiasm to the call for drafts, and by the aid they gave to our declining man power contributed materially to the success of our arms.

#### VALUE OF MILITARY TRAINING

The experience gained in this war alone, without the study and practice of lessons learned from other campaigns, could not have sufficed to meet the ever-changing tactics which have characterized the fighting. There was required also the sound basis of military knowledge supplied by our training manuals and staff colleges.

The principles of command, staff work, and organization elaborated before the war have stood the test imposed upon them and are sound. The militarily educated officer has counted for much and the good work done by our staff colleges during the past thirty years has had an important influence upon the successful issue of the war. In solving the various strategic and tactical problems with which we have been faced, in determining principles of training and handling of troops and in the control and elaboration of army organization generally, the knowledge acquired by previous study and application has been invaluable. Added to this have been the efficiency and smoothness of working resulting from standardization of principles, assisted in many cases by the previous personal acquaintance at the staff college of those called upon to work together in the field.

The course of the war has brought out very clearly the value of an efficient and well-trained high command, in which I include not merely commanders of higher formations but their staffs also.

This has been the first time in our history that commanders have had to be provided for such large forces. Before the war no one of our Generals had commanded even an army corps such as has been used as a subsidiary formation in the battles of the last few years. In consequence commanders have been faced with problems very different to those presented by the small units with which they had been accustomed to train in peace. That they exercised their commands with such success as most of them did shows, I venture to think, that their prior training was based on sound principles and conducted on practical lines.

Similarly as regards the staff, the magnitude of our operations introduced a situation for which no precedent existed. The staff colleges had only produced a reserve of staff officers adequate to the needs of our army on a peace footing and for the mobilization of the expeditionary force of six divisions. Consequently, on the expansion of the army during the war many officers had to be re-

cruted for staff appointments—from good regular officers chiefly, but also from officers of our new armies—and trained for the new duties required of them. Though numbers of excellent staff officers were provided in this way, it was found as a general rule that the relative efficiency in staff duties of men who had passed through the staff colleges, as compared with men who had not had that advantage, was unquestionably greater.

### CHANGING THE PERSONNEL

Good staff work is an essential to success in all wars and particularly in a struggle of such magnitude as that through which we had just passed. No small part of the difficulty of achieving it lies in the possibility that officers on the staff of higher formations may get out of touch with the fighting forces and so lose sense of proportion and become unpractical. Every endeavor was made to avoid this by maintaining a constant interchange of such officers with others from the front, so that all might keep abreast with the latest ideas and experience both in the fighting line and elsewhere. In pursuance of this principle, in addition to eighteen officers from army or corps staffs and other officers from the intelligence corps or general list, there were brought in during the period of my command some fifty officers direct from active duty with divisions or smaller units to hold for longer or shorter periods appointments in the General Staff at G. H. Q.

It may be accepted as a general rule that previous organization should be upset as little as possible in war. As each war has certain special conditions, so some modification of existing ideas and practices will be necessary, but if our principles are sound these will be few and unimportant. In the present war new organizations and establishments for dealing with the demands of both the fighting and the rearward services have been brought into being continually and added to or absorbed by our existing organization and establishment.

The constant birth of new ideas has demanded the exercise of the greatest care, not only to insure that no device or suggestion of real value should be overlooked or discouraged, but also to regulate the enthusiasm of the specialist and prevent each new development assuming dimensions out of proportion to its real value. As the result of our own experience and that of the French during the fighting of 1915, all kinds of trench weapons were invented, bombs, bomb throwers, mortars, and even such instruments as trench daggers. In those days the opinion was freely expressed that the war would be finished in the trenches, and every effort was made to win victories in the trenches themselves. In consequence rifle shooting was forgotten and was fast becoming a lost art. Similarly as regards artillery,

the idea of dominating and defeating the hostile artillery before proceeding to the infantry attack was considered an impossibility.

Then followed the experience of the battle of the Somme in 1916, which showed that the principles of our pre-war training were as sound as ever. That Autumn a revival of old methods was inaugurated. Musketry shooting was everywhere carried out, and bayonet fighting was taught as the really certain way of gaining supremacy in hand-to-hand fighting. At the same time, as pointed out above, the greatest care was devoted to artillery shooting, as well as to the training of all arms for open fighting. The events of the next two years fully confirmed the lessons drawn from the battle of the Somme. In short, the longer the war has lasted the more emphatically has it been realized that our original organization and training were based on correct principles. The danger of altering them too much, to deal with some temporary phase, has been greater than the risk of adjusting them too little.

### SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED

Some idea of the extent of the organization built up during the war for the training of our armies can be gathered from a survey of the different schools actually established.

In the armies important schools were maintained for the instruction of officers and non-commissioned officers of infantry and artillery in their several duties, for training in scouting observation and sniping, in the use of trench mortars, in signaling, musketry and bayonet fighting, anti-gas precautions, mining, and defense against tanks. The different corps controlled a similar series of schools. Added to these were the special schools of the Cavalry Corps, including a School of Equitation; the Tank Corps Mechanical School; and the different courses instituted and managed by divisions, which were largely attended whenever the battle situation permitted.

Other schools under the direct supervision of General Headquarters provided instruction in the machine gun, Lewis gun, and light mortar, in anti-aircraft gunnery, in observation for artillery, in sound ranging and flash spotting, wireless, bridging and other engineering duties, in firing and bombing from airplanes, and in physical and recreational training. At the base depots big training and reinforcement camps were set up for infantry, artillery, cavalry, engineers, machine gunners, cyclists, tank corps, signal and gas personnel. Further, a regular succession of staff officers and others were sent home to take part in the various schools and courses established in England.

In the course of the past year it was found desirable to make provision for the more thorough co-ordination of effort among these various schools, and also for assisting com-

manders, especially during battle periods, in the training and instruction of such troops as might from time to time be in reserve. For this purpose an Inspectorate of Training was established. Training and organization must always go hand-in-hand; for while tactical considerations dictate the organization of units and methods of training, upon sound tactical organization and training depend the development and effective employment of good tactics.

In the early Spring of 1918 the foundations were laid of an educational scheme which might give officers and men throughout the army an opportunity to prepare themselves for their return to civil life. Delayed in its application by the German offensive and the crowded events of the Summer and Autumn of that year, since the conclusion of the armistice the scheme has been developed with most excellent results under the general direction of the training subsection of my General Staff branch, and generously supported in every possible way by the Educational Department at home. Divided into a general and a technical side every effort has been made both to give opportunities for the improvement of general knowledge and to enable trained men to "get their hands in" before returning to civil life. In this way between 400,000 and 500,000 persons have been brought under instruction, while the number of attendances at lectures has approached a million in the course of a month.

#### NEW ARMIES CREATED

The feature of the war which to the historian may well appear the most noteworthy is the creation of our new armies.

To have built up successfully in the very midst of war a great new army on a more than Continental scale, capable of beating the best troops of the strongest military nation of pre-war days, is an achievement of which the whole empire may be proud. The total of over 327,000 German prisoners captured by us on the western front is in striking contrast to the force of six divisions, comprising some 80,000 fighting men all told, with which we entered the war. That we should have been able to accomplish this stupendous task is due partly to the loyalty and devotion of our allies and to the splendid work of the royal navy, but mainly to the wonderful spirit of the British race in all parts of the world.

Discipline has never had such a vindication in any war as in the present one, and it is their discipline which most distinguishes our new armies from all similarly created armies of the past. At the outset the lack of deep-seated and instinctive discipline placed our new troops at a disadvantage compared with the methodically trained enemy. This disadvantage, however, was overcome, and during the last two years the discipline of all ranks of our new armies, from whatever part of the empire they have come, was

excellent. Born from a widespread and intelligent appreciation of the magnitude of the issues at stake and a firm belief in the justice of our cause, it drew strength and permanence from a common-sense recognition of what discipline really means—from a general realization that true discipline demands as much from officers as from men, and that without mutual trust, understanding, and confidence on the part of all ranks the highest form of discipline is impossible.

Drawn from every sphere of life, from every profession, department, and industry of the British Empire, and thrust suddenly into a totally new situation full of unknown difficulties, all ranks have devoted their lives and energies to the service of their country in the whole-hearted manner which the magnitude of the issues warranted. The policy of putting complete trust in subordinate commanders and of allowing them a free hand in the choice of means to attain their object has proved most successful. Young officers, whatever their previous education may have been, have learned their duties with enthusiasm and speed and have accepted their responsibilities unflinchingly.

Our universities and public schools throughout the empire have proved once more, as they have proved time and again in the past, that in the formation of character, which is the root of discipline, they have no rivals. Not that universities and public schools enjoy a monopoly of the qualities which make good officers. The life of the British Empire generally has proved sound under the severest tests, and while giving men whom it is an honor for any officer to command, has furnished officers of the highest standard from all ranks of society and all quarters of the world.

#### PROMOTION BY MERIT

Promotion has been entirely by merit, and the highest appointments were open to the humblest, provided he had the necessary qualifications of character, skill, and knowledge. Many instances could be quoted of men who from civil or comparatively humble occupations have risen to important commands. A schoolmaster, a lawyer, a taxi-cab driver, and an ex-Sergeant Major have commanded brigades; one editor has commanded a division and another held successfully the position of senior staff officer to a regular division; the under-cook of a Cambridge college, a clerk to the Metropolitan Water Board, an insurance clerk, an architect's assistant, and a Police Inspector became efficient General Staff officers; a Mess Sergeant, a railway signalman, a coal miner, a market gardener, an assistant secretary to a haberdasher's company, a Quartermaster Sergeant, and many private soldiers have risen to command battalions; clerks have commanded batteries; a schoolmaster, a collier, the son of a blacksmith, an

iron molder, an instructor in tailoring, an assistant gas engineer, a grocer's assistant, as well as policemen, clerks, and privates have commanded companies or acted as Adjutants.

On their part, officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the old regular army have risen to the demands made upon them in a manner equally marvelous. Their leaven has pervaded the whole of the mighty force which in four and one-half years of war has gathered from all parts of the world around the small, highly trained army with which we entered the war. The general absence of jealousy and the readiness to learn, which in the field has markedly characterized all ranks of our new armies, is proof both of the quality of our old army and of the soundness of our pre-war training. If further proof were needed, it is found in the wonderful conduct and achievements of our armies, new and old, and in the general pride with which they are universally regarded.

In the earlier stages of the war the regular army was called on to provide instructors and cadres around which the new armies could be formed. All that was best in the old regular army, its discipline, based on force of character, leadership, and mutual respect, its traditions, and the spirit that never knows defeat have been the foundations on which the new armies have been built up. Heavy demands were necessarily made upon our establishment of trained regular officers, most regrettably depleted by the heavy sacrifices of the early days of the war. The way in which such demands have been met by those who survived those days has justified our belief in them.

### PART III.

#### THANKS TO COMMANDERS

My thanks are especially due to the five army commanders—General Sir Herbert Plumer, General Sir Henry Rawlinson, General Sir Henry Horne, General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, and General Sir William Birdwood—whose names have become household words throughout the length and breadth of our empire. I desire to associate with them the names of General Sir Charles Monro, who left the command of the First Army to assume the chief command in India; of General Sir Edmund Allenby, who, after conducting the operations of the Third Army in the battle of Arras, 1917,

has since led our arms to victory in Palestine; and General Sir Hubert Gough, who, after distinguished service as a brigade, divisional, and corps commander, commanded the Fifth Army (first known as the Reserve Army) during the battles of the Somme and Ancre in 1916, east of Ypres in 1917, and finally in the great and gallant fight of March, 1918, the story of which is fresh in the minds of all.

[Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch goes on to acknowledge the debt of gratitude to the heads of the sections of his General Staff, both past and present, including his former Chief of the General Staff, Lieut. Gen. Sir Lancelot Kiggell, and the latter's successor, Lieut. Gen. Sir Herbert Lawrence; also Major Gen. Sir R. H. K. Butler, former Deputy Chief of the General Staff. The commander pays a tribute to the Intelligence Section of the General Staff and its far-reaching activities under Brig. Gen. J. Charteris and under his successors, Brig. Gens. E. W. Cox and G. S. Clive. The difficult task of organizing reinforcements for the British armies fell to Lieut. Gen. Sir Nevil Macready, who was made Adjutant General at home early in 1916, after which the work of the Adjutant General in the field was performed by Lieut. Gen. Sir George Fowke. During 1916 and 1917 the duties of Quartermaster General were performed by Lieut. Gen. Sir Ronald Maxwell, who was succeeded by Lieut. Gen. Sir Travers Clarke. The Director General of Transportation's branch was organized under Sir Eric Geddes in the Autumn of 1916, and after his entry into Government duties his work was carried on by Major Gens. Sir F. A. M. Nash and S. D. A. Crookshank. After mentioning gratefully the services of all these and of a much larger number of officers of lesser rank, Sir Douglas ends his dispatch with a warm acknowledgment of the great debt owed by all the armies in France to the unfailing support they received from the men and women of England, who labored at home to make victory possible.]

# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[English Cartoon]

## The Morning After

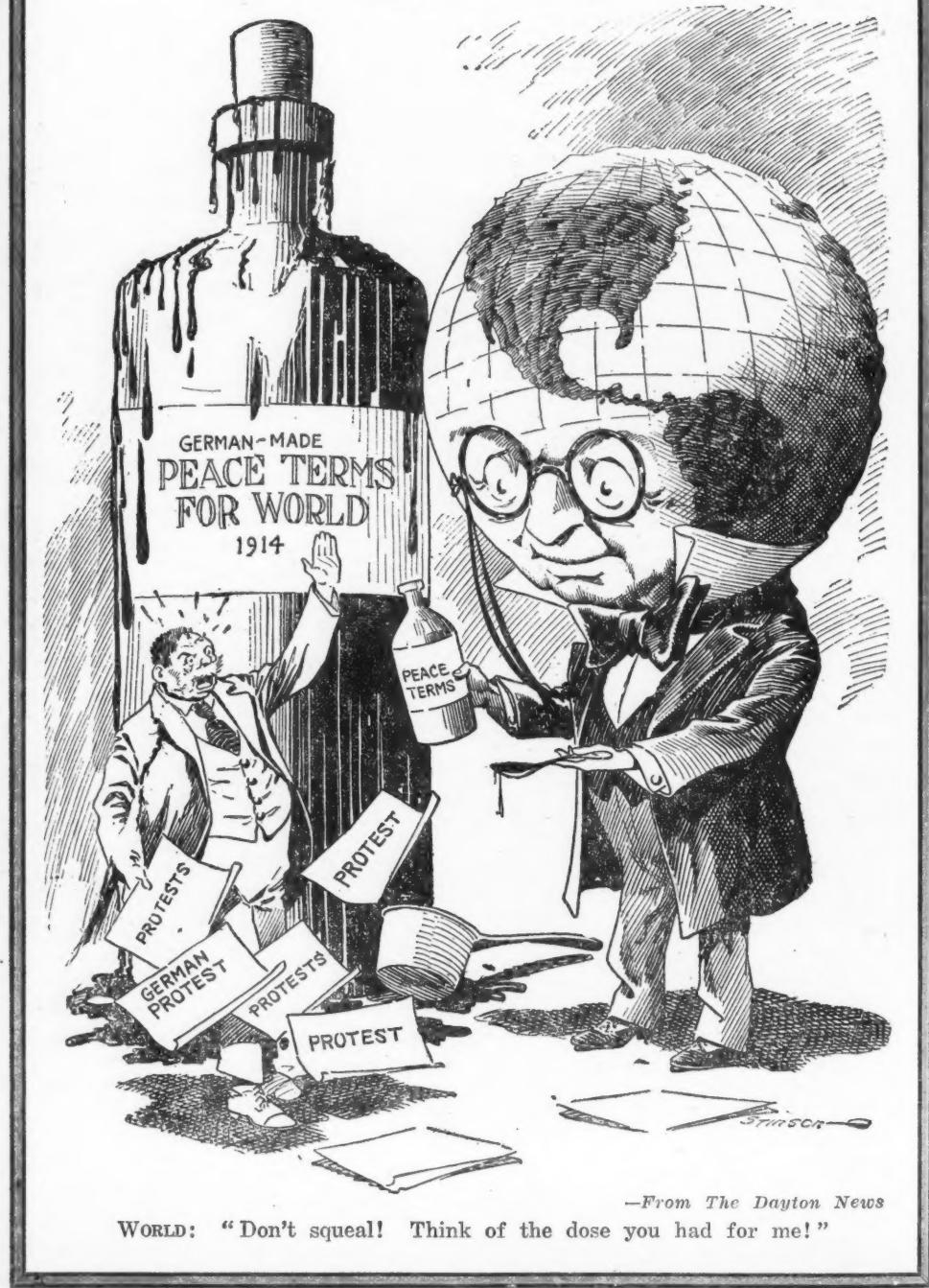


—From *London Opinion*

THE HUN: "Now I've got to pay the bill."

[American Cartoon]

## Taking His Medicine



—From *The Dayton News*

WORLD: "Don't squeal! Think of the dose you had for me!"

[American Cartoons]

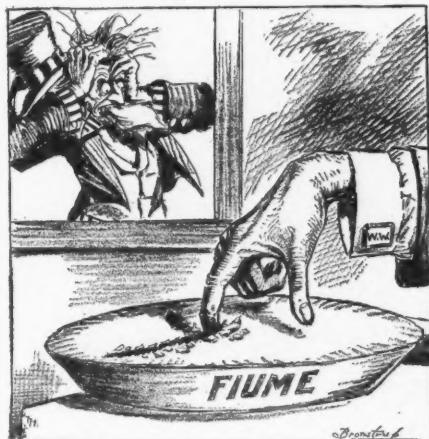
A Big Job on Hand



Wilson—That's All



The Finger in the Pie



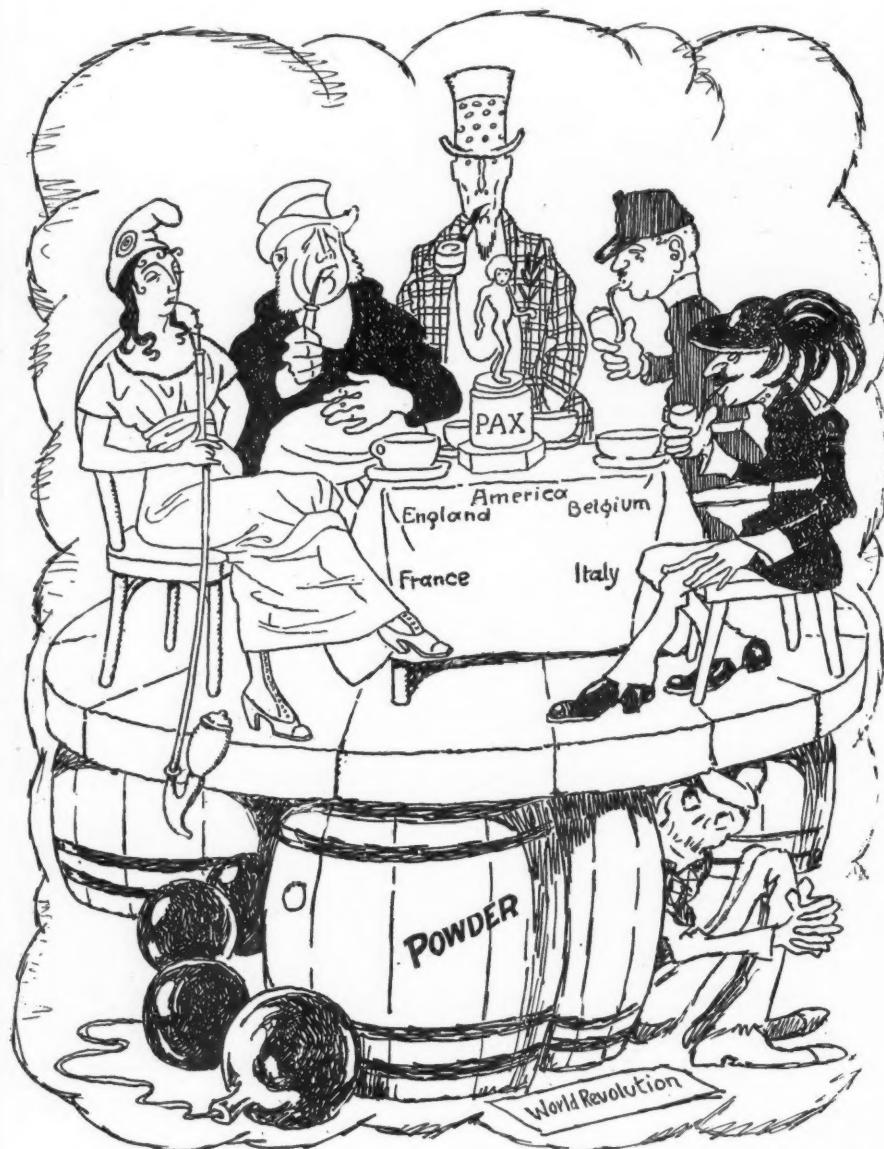
The Light That Failed



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## At the Peace Conference

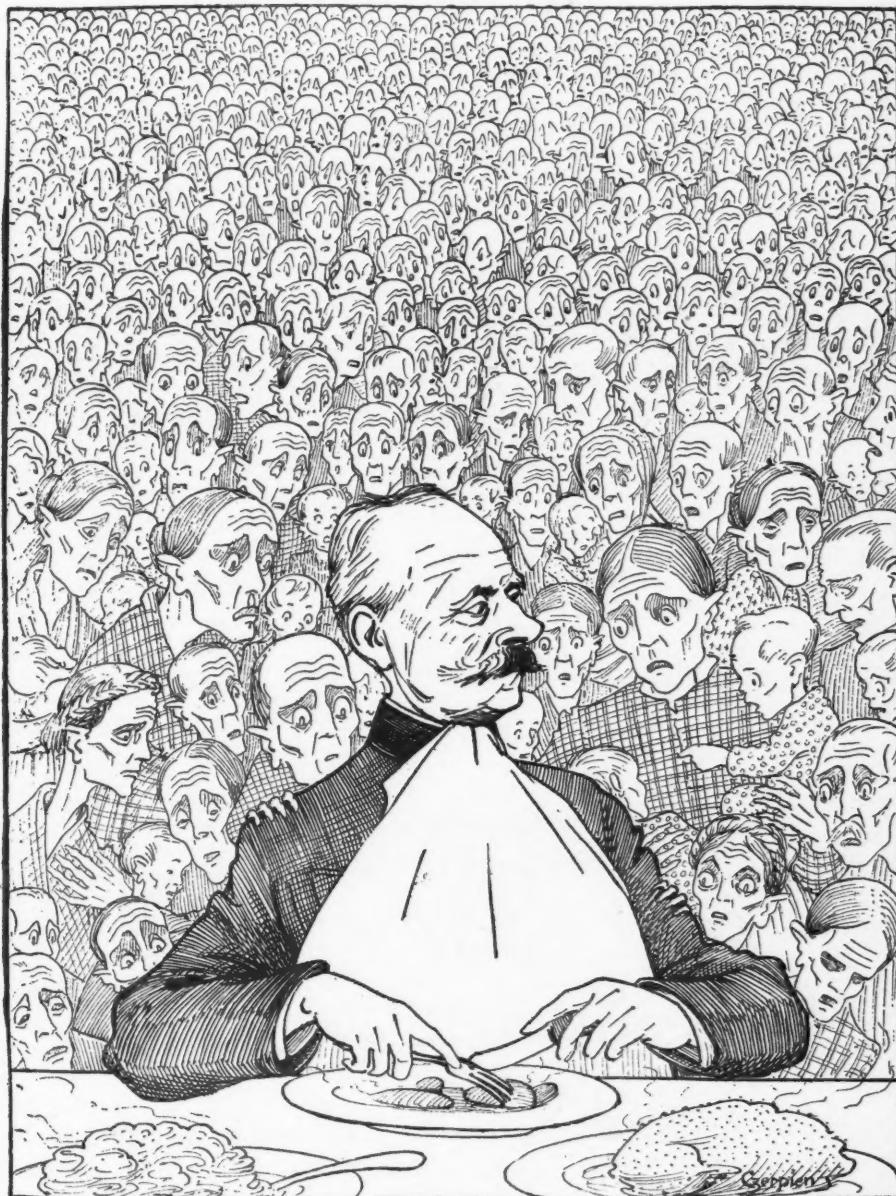


—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

"I hope they will soon get through with this Peace Pipe smoking. A spark might fall underneath, and then—! ! ?"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## The Joy of the Victor



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

FOCH: "Oh, passing moment, stay a while! Thou art so sweet! The traces of my days on earth will last for ages."

(Free from "Faust," 2nd part)

[English Cartoon]

## The Fruits of Infatuation



*—From London Opinion*

FRAU GERMANIA (to Prussianism): "You made me marry you, and now look at the baby I've got to keep."

[English Cartoon]

Help!



—From *The Passing Show, London*

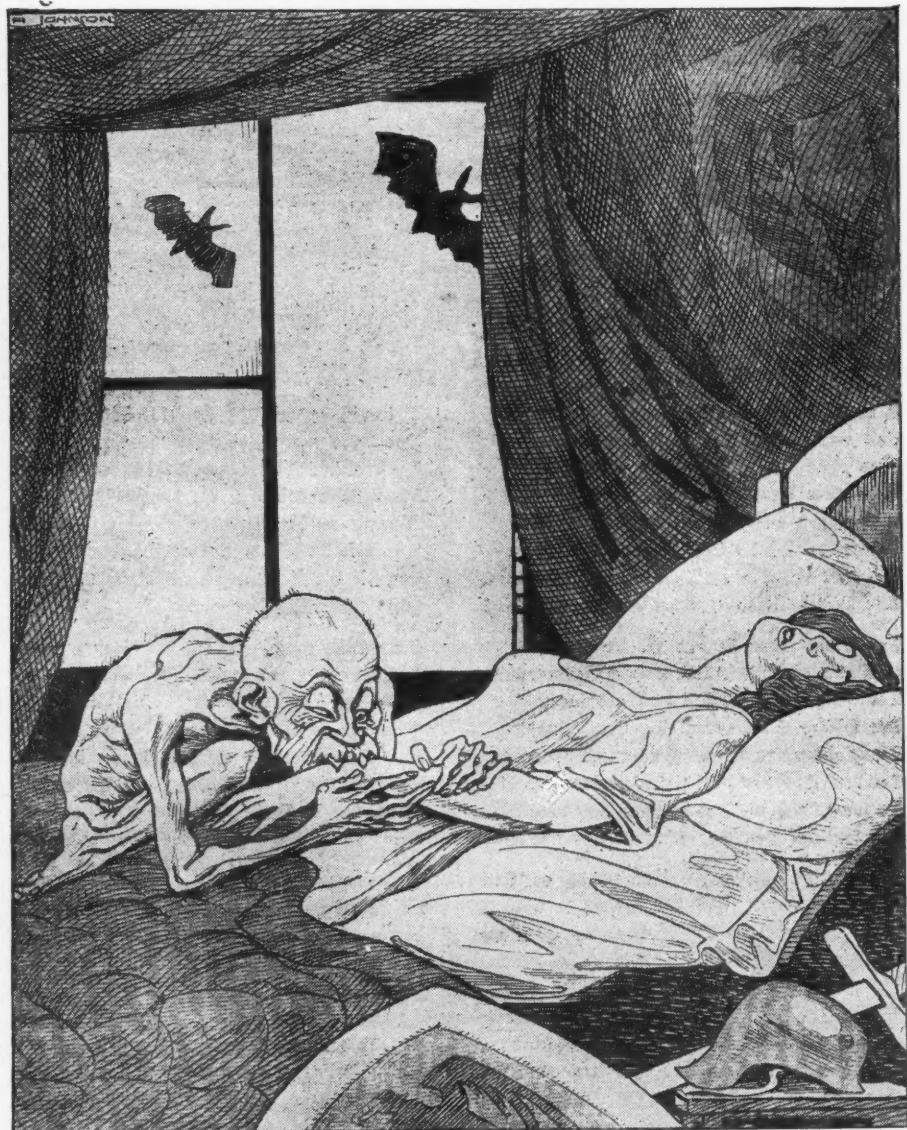
EUROPE (dismayed): "My dear friend, what on earth is this?"

PRESIDENT WILSON: "It is my promised gift to you, Madam, to guard and protect you."

EUROPA: "Oh, is this your 'watchdog'?"

[German Cartoon]

## Clemenceau, the Vampire



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

[This bitter lampoon, inspired by the loss of the Sarre coal mines, represents the French Premier as sucking the lifeblood of Germania]

[German Cartoon]

## A League of Nations Fountain



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin  
[A sarcastic design for a fountain at Spa: It rests on the back of Michel, the German peasant]

[Australian Cartoon]

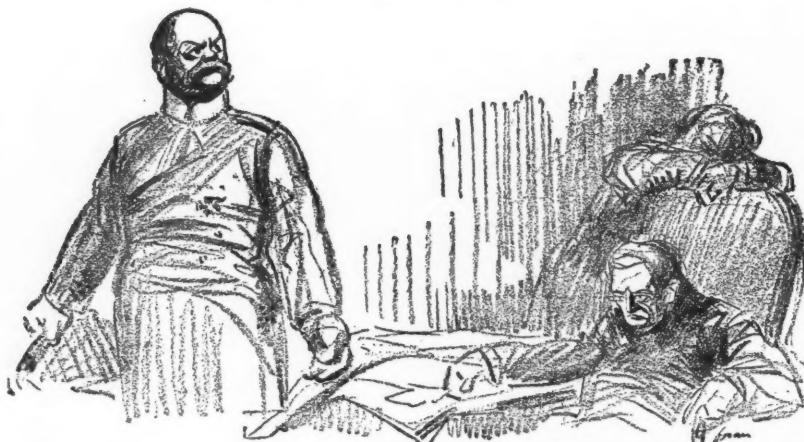
## “A Little Child Shall Lead Them”



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*, (New South Wales)

[French Cartoon]

## Remember 1871



—Forain in *L'Avenir*, Paris

In 1871 Wilson was only 14 years old, so he does not remember this.

[American Cartoon]

## The Fourteen Points



—From *The Omaha World-Herald*

[German Cartoon]

## The World Juggler and His Fourteen Points



—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

[American Cartoon]

## Quite Convenient



—*Brooklyn Eagle*

[French Cartoon]

## Paying the Bill



—From *Le Matin, Paris*

"It's on you, Germania. You'll have to pay the score that's been piled up"

[Spanish Cartoon]

## A Task for the Romans



—From *Campana de Gracia, Barcelona*

It's a simple word but it's hard to get the letters to stick together. (Pau is Catalanian for Peace)

[Italian Cartoon]

### The Fiume Controversy



—*Il 420, Florence*

JUGOSLAV: "Courage, Wilson, two more steps and we are at Fiume."

WILSON: "Yes, it is just those two steps that puzzle me."

[Italian Cartoon]

### The Pacifier's End



—*L'Asino, Rome*

[Norwegian Cartoon]

### Italy's Demand



—*Hvepsen, Christiania*

ORLANDO: "If I can't have four aces of each suit I won't play any longer."

[English Cartoon]

### Possession Is Nine Points —



—*Passing Show, London*

UNCLE WOODROW: "Say, Orlando, give that port up. I've given it to Juggy."

ORLANDO: "Niente, old sport. It never was yours to give!"

[American Cartoon]

## To Those Who Went Away Singing and Never Came Back

[MEMORIAL DAY, 1919]



—From *The New York Tribune*

[American  
Cartoon]

## The Situation in Russia

THE ONLOOKER:  
"Maybe it's about  
time for me to  
help him."

—From *The New  
York Times*



[American Cartoons]

Coming From the Conference



—Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland

First and Last Chapters of the World's Greatest Tragedy



—Central Press Association

The Bolshevik



—Omaha World-Herald

The Dotted Line



—Cincinnati Post

[American Cartoons]

Extending the Olive Branch



—New York Herald

Keep or Carve?



—Newark Evening News

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Peace Discussions



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

FOCH: "We must have guarantees to save ourselves from being attacked by him again. I propose that we take away his crutches!"

[American Cartoons]

A Japanese Print



—Dallas News

The Penalty of Pacifism



—Chicago Tribune

“Here’s to the U. S. N.!”



—New York World

If We Took the Mandate for Turkey



—New York Herald

The Sick Man of the East—and the Sicker Man of the West.